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Multicultural Education, Power, and Ideology: A Critical Analysis of Teacher Training Textbooks and Education Policy in Alberta

by

Joanna Ruth Gill ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education

in

International and Global Education

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University of Alberta

Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled Multicultural Education, Power, and Ideology: A Critical Analysis of Teacher Training Textbooks and Education Policy in Alberta by Joanna Ruth Gill in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Education in International Global Education.

Dr. Jerrold Kachur

July 14, 2003

Dr. Ali Abdi

Dr. Ingrid Johnston

Abstract

Ethnic and race relations in the education system have been a concern for educators, policy and course designers, and the community alike. This study compares the system of social recognition to the learning system in Alberta, positing that both of these are in conflict with each other. Liberal philosophy within the context of the learning system in Alberta is compared and contrasted to critical perspectives. Empirical research focuses on three areas: context analysis of textbooks used in some teacher training courses, context analysis of an Alberta Learning online policy document, and interviews with five high school students. Textbooks and the policy document are examined to find out how much information pertains to multiculturalism and related topics. The interviews attempt to extract information from the actual experiences of students in the Alberta education system. The conclusion of this research is that the learning system and the system of social recognition are not in conflict but rather that the learning system tends to reflect how society in general recognises people socially.

Dedication

This work is dedicated to the young boy in my narrative, who, for purposes of anonymity, must remain nameless. His experience helped to open my eyes to a situation occurring, at least to him, which I could not have known about had it not been for the friendship between his family and mine. His case has been a source of inspiration for me.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge several people for their contribution to the completion of this thesis and the degree in general. I would like to thank the five students that participated in the research, each of whom provided insightful comments to think about and gave of their time to help in my research. I would also like to thank their parents for allowing their children to participate.

My friends completing theses and my brother, who up until recently was doing the same, were also helpful in encouraging me and giving me tips on how to be a graduate student, how to prevent myself from accidentally losing all my research and the actual written thesis, and how to avoid the pitfalls as best as possible. Without those that have gone on before you, vicarious learning is impossible, however desirable it may be.

I would like to thank my family also for their support and encouragement. My mom especially has played a critical role with regards to my research in that, if it had not been for her going back to school to complete her post-graduate diploma in the same department, I probably would never have heard of this field. She has also helped me with technical difficulties during the final year of my program while I was living outside the country.

Finally, I would like to thank my supervisor for his patience as I have taken longer than hoped to finish my thesis. The road has been a long journey for me outside the realm of school, and not having demands and strict deadlines has been a comfort for me while trying to cope with everything at once.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Introduction

The first chapter of this study is organised in a somewhat of an unorthodox manner in that it begins with a narrative. The story is important to me and is the purpose for which I have chosen this particular study. The reason why the story is important to me is that it caused me great distress upon hearing it, not only with regards to the child involved, but also with regards to the potential problems with the state of the education system in general. It appears that the child in this story faced discrimination based on racial differences, and I wondered why such events could happen in a "multicultural country" such as Canada. Had the school responded effectively to the problems this child was facing or had they missed certain elements such as culture shock or different value systems? The incident happened to only one child, but it impelled me to ask if other children had gone through similar experiences. If such situations, as experienced by this child, are not isolated events, I believe that there needs to be change to the education system.

A Black child, called Joseph to protect his identity, at the age of six, accompanied his mother as she made a move to Canada from a small country close to South Africa.[1] They left behind everything they knew so that the mother could complete doctoral studies at a university in Canada. She needed this doctorate to secure a better-paying job than the one she had in order to support her and her deceased husband's family back home. She left behind one of her children, her older daughter, because the directors of the scholarship on which she came felt that she would not be able to afford to take care of both of her children on the amount of money she would be receiving from them.

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[1] I am using the term "Black" here to protect the identity of the child while distinguishing him from other kinds of Africans. For example, there are those that come from Arab, East Indian, and European ancestry and whose skin colours would be considered olive, brown, and white, respectively. I recognise that these are contestable terms, however, this study is not meant to be a forum for such debates.

When they arrived in Edmonton, Alberta, they moved into a university family housing unit. It was a convenient location, for Joseph could go to the public elementary school near his home. When he was enrolled, he was given various tests to measure in what grade level he needed to be placed. The school authorities placed him one grade level below that from which he came in his home country. Joseph and his mother understood that the reason for this was because the particular dialect of English he spoke and his accent were somehow unacceptable to place him in a higher grade than the one in which he was placed. He was already in awe at this country as it was, arriving in a cold Alberta January from a hot country. There were not even leaves on the trees, let alone fruit. Arcade games seemed to be everywhere, something Joseph wanted to play all the time since these were a luxury in his home country. Life outside school was somewhat amazing; now Joseph had to contend with school.

Despite his placement in a lower grade, Joseph tried to make friends and fit in. He was called "Chocolate Brownie" and "Oreo Cookie" at recess. Normally, name calling like this might be viewed as a natural part of childhood. Yet in the case of Joseph, these names might have been more hurtful because he had grown up in a country previously where almost everyone was Black, so to have felt different based on skin colour was likely a new experience for him. In addition, the names stated above were the only ones reported when he complained about schoolmates calling him names, which suggests that perhaps these names were the ones that most bothered him out of any other names he may have been called. Joseph responded to the name-calling not by fighting back, but by telling his teacher about the incidents. The teacher did not seem to care because, for some reason, she did nothing about the situation. Joseph decided that he must take matters into his own hands. He began to fight back at recess because it seemed that was all he could do. The teachers decided that his violent behaviour must end, so they kept him in at recess. Eventually, Joseph began feeling dejected, feeling like he was being punished for crimes of which he was innocent. In his depressed-appearing state, the school counsellor was called to the scene where he administered more tests, and determined that this child, who was seven or eight years old by that time, was clinically depressed and must see the counsellor once a week for therapy. The mother was not consulted on this matter until the school's administration had decided. The mother did not know what to do.

The purpose of this story and its significance to this study will be mapped out in greater detail in a subsequent section. For now, I complete the presentation of the introduction.

According to Wotherspoon (1998), the present trends in incorporating multiculturalism in education reflect the "[fostering] of tolerance and understanding for the broad mosaic of cultural groups within Canadian society" (p. 172). These trends began in the 1970s with the implementation of a multicultural policy by the Canadian government. In the past, the education system was concerned with assimilating immigrants and those from other ethnic backgrounds to a "white" standard. Wotherspoon (1998) goes on to say that the education system has attempted to implement multiculturalism in various ways, such as "heritage language instruction, the development of curricula to represent diverse cultural traditions, [and] cross-cultural training for educational workers and administrators" (p. 172). At the same time, however, Wotherspoon (1998) indicates that racism is still prevalent in the schools.

If there is increased sensitivity to the needs of culturally diverse students, was this increased sensitivity present in the events that happened to Joseph? If it is true that racism exists in schools, and also perhaps in the education system itself, it is questionable as to whether or not Joseph was really treated with sensitivity appropriate to his needs or experiences at that time. There may have been other economic and social factors that influenced the way Joseph responded to what he was experiencing, and certain social and political factors that influenced how he was treated by the school authorities. Concomitantly, the education system from which teachers, counsellors, and administrators come purports to encourage tolerance and understanding. Are these different factors, social, economic, and political in conflict? *It is for these reasons that this study attempts to evaluate the relationship between the learning system and the system of social recognition that exists in the cultural, economic, and political elements in society and schools.*

Definitions of "multiculturalism" are many and are often both prescriptive and descriptive. Some related terms are "interculturalism" and "pluriethnic society," which are discussed in more detail in the third chapter. Greater detail into the debates on multiculturalism is presented in that same chapter. For now, the definition of multiculturalism used for this study is taken from Roberts and Clifton (1993), who state that it is "[a] social policy that advocates the existence, maintenance, and extension of diverse cultures within one society" (p. 438). This definition is not a personal preference; rather it is intended to reflect the position of what those who promote multiculturalism think it should be.

What multiculturalism means for classrooms is what was stated previously where its purpose is to promote tolerance and understanding in the classroom. There are many ideas as to what multiculturalism in the classroom should look like (J. Brown & E. Stephens, 1996; R. Herring & L. White, 1995; K. Branen & K. Congdon, 1994). These ideas frequently revolve around having students do activities, such as having students tell about customs in their cultures or going on a field trip to different kinds of museums. A more popular activity suggested is to have a multicultural day where students have the opportunity to wear traditional apparel, bring foods from their respective cultures, and so forth. Are these activities profound enough to impact students and allow everyone to feel as secure in his or her identity as someone from a dominant culture? Some researchers suggest that despite attempts to improve cultural relations within the school, it has not been enough since teachers continue to stereotype students from different backgrounds; as well, students coming from those backgrounds are treated in the same way that people from their same cultures are treated in general in the society in which they live (D. Smith, 2000; S. Miller, K. Miller, & L. Gwaltney, 1998; R. Bennett et al., 1993).

Research Focus

Murphy (1979) states that functionalism in its broadest sense "refers to the satisfaction of a need, requisite, or imperative for the survival or equilibrium of a system" (p. 9). He also points out that functionalists place biological limitations on those systems as well. In the context of Canadian schools, multiculturalism plays into the concept of functionalism in the sense that schools are supposed to produce students that are culturally aware and understanding of those from other backgrounds. Ideally the goal of the curriculum is to provide human capital and its relation, cultural capital; the equilibrium lies hence in the cycle of producing a certain kind of citizen for the work force. By this, I mean that students are meant to go through the school system to be prepared for a job in a technological society and also to give students the cultural tools necessary to propagate the idea of multiculturalism they have been taught. In other words, the function of schools is to produce people with cultural and human capital (concepts that are elaborated in chapters 2 and 3), and in the case of Canada, cultural capital implies being equipped to live in a multicultural society.

However, despite what the function of schools is supposed to be, racism and discrimination continue to exist in Canadian society, meaning that there is some dissonance between what the schools are supposed to, or are trying to produce, and what is actually occurring in society outside of the schools. Moreover, do racism and discrimination exist within schools among students or from a systemic level? These questions are related to the major question of this study comparing the learning system to the system of social recognition. The focus is on education in Alberta because education systems differ between provinces and are designed to meet different needs based on varied demographics. One could assume that multicultural policies are consistent across the country, but again, it is the varied demographics that would conflate such a study. For this study, and to find out if what happened to Joseph was because of a functionalist ideology prevalent in the schools, it is necessary to see if there are alternative social theoretical explanations for what happened Joseph, which are outlined in the next chapter, engage in content analysis of textbooks for pre-service teachers and school counsellors along with Alberta Education policy guidelines on multiculturalism, and speak to students about their perspectives of multiculturalism in the schools.

Purpose of Study

The story described at the beginning of the chapter is an account of what happened to a personal family friend in the 1990s. My reason for the doing this kind of study was stated at the beginning. In Joseph's story, many aspects of this event are normal, every day occurrences; however, the scenario is equally disturbing and problematic on several accounts. Some of the issues are apparent while others are merely implied. Eight of these issues are identified and explored below.

The first issue has to do with immigration issues. It is certainly fortunate that Joseph's mother was able to receive the education required here in Canada, that she received a scholarship to study abroad, and that her student authorisation was approved. What is unfortunate, in this case, is that she was forced to leave her country to pursue more or better education, that her own country did not have adequate resources for this purpose. If she had been able to stay in her home country, the story of Joseph in Canada would never have occurred.

The second issue pertains to the arrival of Joseph and his mother to Canada. Frequently, international students have a difficult time finding housing that is affordable, convenient with regards to access to the university as well as the community. While the university offers some student residences, they are often full, and students often do not have a guarantee that they will have a university housing space. This was not the case for Joseph and his mother. They were able to obtain a townhouse in the family residence section of university housing. What was upsetting about their arrival here was that they arrived in January. They were in a tropical climate when they left and came to snow and freezing temperatures. The other upsetting part was that Joseph's mother had to leave her daughter behind because those responsible for dispersing the scholarship decided she would not have enough money to look after both her children and pay for her education as well.

Joseph's placement in school is the third issue. On the one hand, placement tests are common occurrence so that children of equal education are in the same classes. This allows for all students at one level to progress at the same speed. It is not surprising, of course, that Joseph would be given a placement exam, but the nature of the exam, or at least its results, is the problem. It is understandably the case that education systems between countries can vary such that what a child learns in grade 1 here might be more or less than what a grade 1 student in another country might learn. Even within Canada, our education systems between provinces vary in this manner. However, what is unclear is if the placement tests are designed adequately for immigrant children. If they are not, then placement tests may not properly assess a child's level of intelligence or knowledge. As such, it is not clear if the results of the exam really meant that Joseph should have to be placed in a grade below that from which he came. It is also unclear why Joseph and his mother understood that it was Joseph's accent that kept him back.

The fourth issue deals with other kinds of diversions. Joseph was pretty excited to come to a country that had more technical advances than his own, particularly arcade games. When he first arrived in Canada, his mother reported that he was always acting out because he was upset in the new situation, and was always trying to escape her to go play video games. It is normal that a child might act out when he or she does not agree with a situation. What is troubling is the disparity between the two countries again, this one and Joseph's country. While we have video games in many locations, many people having them in their own homes, they seem to be quite a luxury from where Joseph comes.

Taunting is the fifth issue. As stated before, it is normal for children to call each other names. The names "Oreo Cookie" and "Chocolate Brownie" may or may not have been race-related, but in any case, the teacher failed to address Joseph's perception of the taunting.

The sixth issue is that of the relationship between psychological testing and educational practice. Psychological testing is a common practice in schools to test students for intelligence, aptitude, and to predict school achievement. There are many controversies related to the role of psychological testing in schools, one of them being the cultural biases that may exist in such tests. Was the test given to Joseph culturally biased? Was his intellect to blame? Or could his state of mind at the time of testing have affected his performance? Perhaps he was upset at the time about something; maybe he was experiencing culture shock or some other problem that affected his performance. Another factor might even have been socio-economic status in that Joseph's mother could not afford to support her family, which is why she came here to pursue graduate studies in an attempt to improve her chances of being financially stable back home. At the same time, she was also not wealthy here while doing her degree. As well, the nature of the test that pointed to the possibility that Joseph was depressed[2] may also have been culturally biased, or reflected his current mood rather than a longstanding trait. Indeed, Nietzel, Bernstein, and Milich (1998) state several questions that are routinely asked for the clinical assessment of children; these questions ask about any problems in the home life of the child, family factors that may aggravate the problem, if the child is accepted or rejected by peers and so forth. As well, they stress the importance of the role of the parent in assessing children, for "children's emotional and behavioural states depend heavily on the nature of their family life" (Nietzel, Bernstein, & Milich, 1998, p. 354). If this is true, why, then, did the counsellor not consult Joseph's mother until after Joseph was diagnosed and sent for treatment?

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[2] It is not impossible for Joseph to have been depressed. Stravrakaki and Gaudet (1989) highlight studies done that show that the prevalence of depression for elementary-aged children at any given time is approximately 5%, but that more children in that age category are likely to experience depressive symptoms. The question here is whether or not Joseph's depression was simply a state of mind or actually a character trait. "Traits can be defined as relatively enduring dispositions," (p. 20) as described by Kaplan and Saccuzzo (1997) in their book called *Psychological Testing: Principles, Applications, and Issues.* State, then, is the opposite where the mood exists only for a relatively shorter period of time. Clinical depression is a trait disposition whereas simply having a depressed mood is more characteristic of a state. Joseph's mood could have been temporarily depressed if he felt distressed about the current situation, and it could have affected the outcome of a test to determine clinical depression.

The power/authority relationship to professional discretion is the seventh issue. It is natural that schools trust the professional opinion, in this case, the opinion of the school counsellor, and the decisions that are based on these opinions. The problem is that if the school counsellor is acting in a way that contradicts the rules set out for those in the mental health profession, the others in the school may not be aware of those rules; this allows the counsellor to have no accountability because there is no one to report him or her. In Joseph's case, he was assessed, diagnosed and sent for treatment without consulting his mother. The school may have been unaware that this practice is unethical according to the rules and guidelines of the American Psychological Association, so they would not have reported the actions of this counsellor. As well, Joseph's mother not being familiar with the Canadian education system and with the rules set out by the mental health profession, would not have reported this counsellor's behaviour as well. As previously stated, this counsellor had the opportunity to abuse his or her position of authority, was able to act unethically, because there was no accountability from superiors or any of the people involved in the event.

Finally, the eighth issue in this event is the nature of the intervention. There is no problem with assessing students for what appear to be particular behavioural maladjustments, and it is useful to have a school counsellor that can provide psychological help to students essentially free of extra cost to the students. However, the intervention is this case did not involve the mother, and from points stated before, it is unclear that the diagnosis given to Joseph was accurate and that the intervention he received was the meeting the primary source of his problem. It is not disputed that Joseph was possibly depressed, but what kind of depression did he have? What was the source? Did the nature of the counselling sessions deal with the problem that Joseph really had? Another related problem was the fact that Joseph displayed no symptoms of depression in contexts where he knew he was loved and accepted. Did the counsellor try to find out how Joseph behaved in contexts other than school?

Significance of Research

The above section discusses some of the different reasons for pursuing this study. In this section, I present the significance of this research topic to further research and the implications it may have for policy designers and teacher and counsellor training programs.

It appears that there is a certain functionalist ideology in the education system. If this is true, is this the ideal ideology? Moreover, whether it is the ideal or not, is it succeeding in its goal to produce human and cultural capital for Canadian society? To study such a topic in its ultimate format would be to do a longitudinal study tracking certain aspects of the lives of a group of students. Even on a short-term scale, this research can be of value to those designing education curricula in Alberta. On a grander scale, it would be interesting to see if the study could be adapted to different regions across the nation, and because of my own personal interest in the international scene, even to be able to adapt it for study in other countries where mixed ethnic populations exist. As well the study could not only influence curriculum design, but also the way in which teachers and student counsellors are trained.

Beyond implications for the schools themselves, research such as that which appears in this study, could hopefully be used to inform the community in which the school is situated as well as parents of the students. If Joseph's mother had been better informed about the way schools operate, it might have helped her respond to the situation more effectively. Furthermore, parents need to be involved in the schooling and teaching of children, since children's development is influenced not only by school, but by the family and the wider community; in contrast, the argument exists that a child's development is solely the responsibility of the school.

Chapter Outline

In this chapter, I have given an overview of the topic, outlining various reasons for, and implications of the research. Chapter two looks at the functionalist normative position on what should be happening in schools as well as other social theoretical explanations for the same. Chapter three relates various definitions and discusses the methodology used for this study. Chapters four to six present the data. Chapter four specifically focuses on data collected from university textbooks for courses that pre-service teachers and aspiring school counsellors would take. The fifth chapter is similar to the fourth chapter in methodology but examines Alberta Education policy documents. The style changes for the sixth chapter, which is a description of interviews conducted with high school students. Chapter seven presents the analysis of these data, and the last chapter is a summary of all the chapters plus a meta-analysis of the study as a whole.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviews some alternative explanations to functionalism to explain what happened to Joseph. As well, these alternatives are used to examine multiculturalism in the classroom. Specifically, the chapter first looks at meaning and power, where these other explanations are presented. The section examining both theoretical and pragmatic aspects of multiculturalism follows the first section. The final section reviews competing solutions to the problems of multiculturalism and education.

Meaning and Power

This section explains symbolic interactionism, social psychology, cultural hegemony and capital, and Marxist perspectives with their relation to multiculturalism and education. Following the aforementioned is a discussion of interactionism as politics. The significance of these topics is to examine the relationship between power structures and education.

Symbolic Interactionism

Symbolic interactionism, according to Marshall (1998) is focussed on examining how meaning is constructed through interaction. It is the interaction between people out of which meaning is constructed. Symbolic interactionism is also synonymous with structuralism (Martinussen, 1997). There are four aspects to this theory. First, humans manipulate symbols and are the only animals able to produce culture. Second is the idea of process and emergence characterised in a dialectic and dynamic social world. Third, the social world is interactive, that individuals exist only in relation to other individuals. Fourth, interactionism seeks to discover the underlying patterns of the social world in order to find some generic laws about social life.

Marshall (1998) states that symbolic interactionism emerged from The Chicago School of sociology. That "People develop and define their group identity through interaction—a mutual working out of what things mean" is the process by which the "social self" (Osborne & van Loon, 1998, p. 74) is created. Dickinson (1993) provides yet greater detail about interactionism. He states that the Chicago school espoused urban ecology, the idea that "cities were like natural environments and that competition between different groups for resources, usually land, resulted in those individuals and groups best suited for success becoming dominant" (p. 17). Dickinson (1993) also points out that Blumer, a fairly prominent latter-day interactionist, was interested in how individuals interacted to construct a version of social reality.

In the context of meaning and power, language can be analysed as a symbolic interaction phenomenon. Basil Bernstein (1977) looks at language as a symbolic system. In particular, he is focused on speech and communication as a symbolic system. Language and communication is an interactive phenomenon. This fits into symbolic interactionism if it is viewed in the sense that as people try to make sense and meaning of their world and lives by the construction of meaning through interaction with others, those constructions are mediated by power relationships between the classes. Thus, perceptions or concepts of meaning are biased by power and class structures.

In the context of the classroom, these perspectives on interactionism have a two-fold implication. The first is that students from various backgrounds, whether they be from different ethnicities or classes or some combination of the two, not only negotiate their own identities from interactions with others in the school setting, but they also negotiate their perceptions of social reality from these same interactions. In other words, such interactions create the perception of the self as well as the wider social context. If symbolic interactions can have such a significant impact on a person and are part of such a complex web of stimuli in the creation of a person's ontological ideas, then it is easy to see how positive or negative experiences, both of which can be derived from power structures, could affect an individual. Secondly, Dickinson (1993) says that an interactionist solution to social problems "was to alter the individual so as to solve the social problem. This approach continues to be influential in the study of social deviance and in the formation of social control policy" (p. 18). In this context, schools can become the venues and media of social control.

Symbolic interactionism provides a good framework for looking at the way in which people generally construct their own identities. However, there are a few problems that this viewpoint does not consider that would make the framework stronger. One problem is the idea of individuals existing only in relation to other individuals. This ignores any biological and individual psychic activity in a person that is not or may not be affected by other individuals. Social reality or meaning can be constructed with the influence of such activity. In other words, one cannot be defined exclusively in terms of activity independent of or exclusively in terms of activity *only* from interaction with other people. Another problem lies in interactionist solutions to social problems where the person is to be altered in order to solve social problems. As stated above, schools can become the venue for such alterations, but it implies that there is a structure that allows for, and even desires, those alterations to take place. What if there is no such structure? What if the school becomes the tool to maintain the current power structures and societal inequalities?[3] In the following section, I turn to social psychology as it relates to symbolic interactionism.

Social Psychology and Symbolic Interactionism

Satzewich (1993) talks about a social psychological view of cultural conflict that stems from the Chicago School and interactionism. Two groups first come into contact and then compete for resources (see also Martinussen, 1997 and Farnen 1994 for further information on competition for resources). The result of this is an "us" and "them" attitude. If the conflict is institutionalised, accommodation occurs, followed by assimilation to the dominant group. Satzewich (1993) points out that assimilation is difficult to define and that it is unclear whether or not these stages necessarily and absolutely occur. However, racial prejudice, in this case, serves to mask the real problems of the difficulties for the whole economic class. People from "other" ethnic backgrounds are used as scapegoats to blame for social problems. Thus, it becomes difficult for the working class as a whole to unite to change the situation when those from what are considered foreign backgrounds are considered the cause of problems by others in the same economic class. Again, the problem of using people as change agents becomes a problem. The social psychological aspect includes critiques that stem from using the general population to solve problems. The following discussion turns again to structures and power in education.

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[3] Chomsky suggests that the whole of society is affected by various media to maintain society as it currently exists (see *Manufacturing Consent*, 1998, Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky, Eds.)

Cultural Hegemony and Cultural Capital

This section presents general views on cultural capital, as well as cultural hegemony. It specifically examines interactionism and power relations as a basis for discussing their contribution to the analysis of cultural hegemony. I also show how functionalism is related to cultural capital.

Leslie Miller (1993) says that "power is exercised in symbolic and expressive forms as well as material ones, a point which places culture at the centre of the discussion of power" (pp. 63-4). The result is cultural hegemony where "one group (or groups) imposes its vision of social reality. . .upon another, in a manner that appears both legitimate and natural" (Miller, 1993, p. 64). This idea is based on Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital in which "symbolic goods. . .are deemed by members of that society to be rare and desirable" (Miller, 1993, p. 64). An example of this would be the ability, not just to communicate, but also to communicate well in the dominant language medium of a school. Students who come from backgrounds where they do not speak the dominant language at home may be deemed to be culturally deprived. In other words, "those who do not have the 'cultural capital' (Bourdieu, 1973) or the 'language codes' (Bernstein, 1973) required for success in schools because of racial, ethnic, gender, and class differences" (Comparative Education/2001, June 5) are alienated. Cultural capital is owned by those privileged enough in society to have it, and is passed on by those same people, maintaining their advantage while reinforcing the status of those without cultural capital; this is what Bourdieu (1977) calls cultural reproduction. The importance of cultural capital is how it is a concealed form of domination. Inequities continue to be masked by what appears to be equal opportunity.

Indeed, Bourdieu (1977) believes that although providing cultural capital will bring economic advantages for society, everyone in society must have equal access to the symbolic goods required to gain valuable cultural knowledge. In order for this to be possible, each member of society must have the tools to appropriate the symbolic goods. He states that "the apprehension and possession of cultural goods as symbolic goods. . . are possible only for those who hold the code making it possible to decipher them, or in other words, that the appropriation of symbolic goods presupposes the possession of instruments of appropriation" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 488). Access to these goods equate to owning economic capital and power. What happens, though, is that the people for whom it is possible to decipher the codes are those reared in families or in a context that makes it possible. Bourdieu (1977) continues by saying that the education system reproduces "the structure of the distribution of cultural capital among the classes" (p. 493) because the culture receiving the education in schools is closer to the dominant class giving the education, and as such are favoured for access to cultural goods. The dominant classes, then, can easily control the dissemination of cultural goods, another example of cultural hegemony.

According to Sadovnik, Cookson, and Semel (2001), the liberal, or functional perspective, as equated by Wotherspoon (1998) purports that a free market economy is the best for society, but that there must be some intervention by the government to promote fair treatment of all citizens and promote a healthy economy. Gibbins and Youngman (1996) further differentiate between classical and reform liberalism where classical liberalism espouses complete government non-intervention, and reform liberalism adopts the view that the government should intervene based on the characteristics of the economy. Liberals strongly believe in equality and equality of opportunity. According to Sadovnik et al. (2001), without some regulation from the government, groups that are economically and politically disadvantaged are more likely to be adversely affected. Both Sadovnik et al. (2001) and Gibbins and Youngman (1996) concur that according to liberal ideology, individuals and groups must compete to survive, and that it is a natural characteristic of humans to do so.

In relation to education, liberalism can stream into both traditional and progressive viewpoints. According to Sadovnik et al. (2001), traditional views see schools as the vehicles to promote societal values of hard work, family, and the like, whereas progressive viewpoints see schools as the vehicles to solving all the social problems. Gibbins and Youngman (1996) offer a slightly different statement by saying that if policies are designed such that they cause the least infringement upon economic and social liberties, the whole of society will be advanced. What this implies in relation to education, then, is that school policies must also not infringe upon individual rights and liberties in the economic and social arenas. How does this relate to functionalism?

Martinussen (1997) says that functionalism is concerned with political macro-phenomena, and that the questions asked by this school pertain to the "functions and structures necessary for the persistence and modernisation of a given political system" (p. 30). If the liberal view purports competition and the importance of individual rights and liberties, then the role of functionalism in this context is to examine and determine school policies that promote modernisation along these lines, as discussed above.

It should be noted that cultural capital theory falls under the functionalist perspective in that it supports social stratification. According to the theory, there are some people that will obtain cultural capital and others that will not. This theory, though, supports the idea that social stratification based on socio-economic status is a necessary feature of society. Because of this, cultural capital theory is only interested in investing in such capital for economic growth and fails to consider the preparation of the new generations for their existence in other realms of society than just the economic field. Marxist views may account for that.

Marxist Perspectives

In giving a Marxist perspective on education, Levitas (1974) says that, "education and educational institutions tend to play their part in winning support and assent to existing economic and political relationships. The educational structure to a significant degree is part of the state itself" (p. 15). He further states that teachers are the main socialising agents in a student's life since the role of a teacher is to mediate the expectations and pressures of society for children. Again, school is a venue for preparing children for society. If this is the case, then should schools prepare children to face the realities of society or the ideal of the way society should be?

According to neo-Marxists, "education in capitalist society is to reproduce the ideology of the dominant class" (Sadovnik et al., 2001, p. 195), and as is the same in original Marxism, education should give students the tools to understand the ideology to become change agents of society and education. Neo-Marxism is a view of the whole society rather than just theories of education; the view is a critique of capitalism. The view of education, according to this philosophy, is that it "should transform the dominant culture" (Sadovnik et al., 2001, p. 197). Education should also produce critical awareness of self and society, an idea that is shared by some of the other philosophies discussed here. Since those in power construct the curriculum, it needs teachers to make it fairer. For neo-Marxists, that means critiquing capitalism. In the case of this neo-Marxism, though, the philosophy can be adapted to critique whomever one sees as the group in power and the ones that are oppressed. For instance, for feminists, it means the representation of multicultural and feminist curricula.

I now turn to discuss the idea of interactionism as politics and the politics of cultural hegemony. It is clear, according to the theories stated above, that schools are a powerful tool to promote what they want. As well, this section on culture and education refers to the idea that culture is influenced by economic power. In accordance with interactionist, cultural hegemonic, and Marxist views, those with economic power are referred to as the state. If the state, or politics, influences culture, and culture is transmitted through schools, then politics must also influence schools. Indeed, Ghosh (1995) believes that "Education has always been shaped by economic, social, political, cultural, and historical forces, both globally and locally. Formal education also contributes to these areas. It is tied to the ideology of the ruling elite of the country and is political at every stage because of the competing demands by various groups" (p. 3).

Referring back to the case of Joseph, it is possible to argue that his problems in school, a teacher that ignored his situation, being tested and placed in a lower grade level, and so forth, may have been due to his unfamiliarity with Canadian culture as it exists in the education system. He may be said to have been culturally deprived and that because his problem did not improve that school year, the cause may have been the education system itself as opposed to family influences and the general behaviour of children. As well, as he began to make meaning of his place in a new context, different from his home country, what role did those in power play in mediating his sense of meaning?

Furthermore, what is the role of the school or education system in mediating the experience of students in relation to multiculturalism, as is relevant to the case of Canada?

The above section reviewed symbolic interactionism, cultural hegemony and cultural capital, as well as Marxist perspectives, and showed a link to the case of Joseph and multiculturalism in the classroom. They provided explanations for how the state, or those with economic influence and power in society, exerts control in schools. If power relations, competition, and politics are so important in culture, then what can be said of multiculturalism in the classroom? To answer this question, it is necessary to look specifically at what multiculturalism is, and how those researching multiculturalism and teacher and counsellor training have addressed the issue.

Multiculturalism in Theory and Practice

This section presents multiculturalism in theory and practice in a two-fold manner. The first part looks at empirical problems and ideological solutions. The second part deals with explanatory factors and competing versions of multicultural education as solutions. Discrimination and racism are connected to power relations in the first part. How multiculturalism relates to children, teachers, and society is presented in the second part.

Ghosh and Tarrow (1993) state that, "the word 'multicultural' is the most generic term" (Comparative Education/2001, June 5) of all related words such as pluriethnic, intercultural, and the like. The empirical problem is that "In its most negative sense it deals with 'culture as artefact' or takes a museum approach where multicultural education is superficial and culture is limited to a static version stripped of its political content—songs and dances, or heroes and holidays. The term 'anti-racist' is preferred by those who see discrimination and racism (power relations) as being the significant issues" (Comparative Education/2001, June 5). Ghosh and Tarrow (1993) like to use the term multicultural to include its dialectical relationship and political implications. The proposed solution of Herring and White (1995) is that multicultural education should include "A more encompassing definition [that] includes all policies and practices that schools might use to improve educational outcomes not only for students of different ethnic, social class, and religious backgrounds, but also of different genders and exceptionalities" (Journal of Humanistic Counseling, Education & Development/2001, May 14). Improved educational outcomes would affect not only the role of the teacher, but also the roles of administration, school counsellors, and school policies, since education is a multifaceted phenomenon. Again, using schools to promote multiculturalism and influence the way students interact with their environment is favoured.

In the past, the museum approach to multiculturalism was used in schools. Ghosh and Tarrow (1993) say that psychologists' work showed that there were cultural differences in learning and behaving. After these kinds of findings, "multicultural education took on a more political aspect, dealing with issues of discrimination and racism, and human rights with anti-racist education becoming the preferred term" (Comparative Education/2001, June 5).

The above section dealt with what multiculturalism was and should be in the classroom. The next section deals with multicultural education and personality. It also looks at proposed solutions for dealing with multicultural education in relation to teacher and counsellor training. Much of the response that will be presented comes out of the literature on critical pedagogy.

This section is divided in three parts to look specifically at children, teachers, and society to look at explanatory factors and competing versions of multicultural education as solutions. The following is an examination of not only how the above factors influence individual behaviour, especially in a classroom setting, but also at what have been the proposed solutions for problems that arise. First I present the general effects on students in the classroom and second, I discuss what can happen to individual students. I then suggest solutions from both liberal and critical pedagogical literature.

Children specifically are affected in the classroom socially and psychologically. Katz (1999) states that "Even though . . . students share a common classroom, all their differences can easily work to isolate them from one another" (p. 32). If this is the case, the relationship between the macro-society and micro-classroom is that the differences that students may feel are impressed upon them by society. In other words, what children see in the community serves also to divide them in school, and the consequence being that their relationships at school become biased. In the psychological sense, children sometimes exhibit "Psycho-emotional code-switching [that] requires one to move from one set of codes and behaviours to another without losing one's own identity" (Katz, 1999, p.32). In order to improve human relations, "Students should be helped to learn the skills of code-switching in order to function at a high level of communication" (Katz, 1999, pp. 33-4). This proposed solution exemplifies a cultural capital value to provide cultural goods for students. When they do not acquire these goods, they may experience cultural deficit, which is defined as, according to those espousing cultural capital and cultural deficit theory, the of lack cultural goods. However, if society does not reflect positive relations between people, especially intercultural relations, any attempt to teach students code-switching skills is going to be hampered by the effects of the "real world."

Saylor and Aries (1999) provide an example of identity and meaning construction through interaction, where a situation where the ethnic context in which a student lives contributes to his or her sense of identity formation. "As one Hispanic student reported, 'In high school in South Florida, I never thought of being Latino--I just was. In New England, a really Waspy society, I really felt that I did not belong, that my manner of interacting with people, partying, and values were more similar to other Latinos and minorities on campus'" (Journal of Social Psychology/2001, February 18). This student had felt a change having moved from one state to another. Could it also explain the way Joseph was made to feel more conscious of his ethnic background, something he did not have to think about the same way in his home country?

Apart from the effects on individual students, the effects of society on teachers are significant as well. Teacher training programs are subject to scrutiny in the way those programs exhibit the attitudes and structure of society. Teachers then pass this on to students in the classroom without necessarily being aware that they are doing it, or perhaps without acknowledging the way that the training programs have influenced their teaching methods. Katz (1999) believes that "Teachers…must also be versed on the latest child development theories and pedagogical practices…they must posses sophisticated communication skills for dealing with parents, colleagues, and the larger community" (p. 31). This is perhaps what teachers should learn, but an examination of many teacher training programs might reveal that often, important issues are not discussed or exposed until the post-graduate level, after teachers have completed their degrees and are already teaching. For example, the issues confronted in this study are done at the post-graduate level as opposed to the undergraduate. The individual personality of students in a teacher-training program becomes conformed to the particular pedagogical system of that society and perpetuates the problems that are found in the classroom. While Katz (1999) focuses on teachers, the same may be true for school counsellors as well.

One of the main ideas about how multiculturalism and ethnic conflict are manifest in the macro-society is how it will affect the micro-society of the classroom. Farnen (1994) believes that "A racist society practicing discriminatory employment, housing, and political practices cannot educate its citizens for democratic life in schools that mirror segregated life outside on the streets and in the neighbourhoods" (p. 76). He gives an example where if "the student population of a school is based on discriminatory housing practices, that school will not provide the mix of students needed to encourage productive interracial and intercultural interactions" (Farnen, 1994, p. 76). It follows that multiculturalism cannot be sufficiently employed in the classroom if society at large does not also display multicultural neighbourhoods. Moreover, Durkheim (1977) suggests that the "moral organisation of the school must reflect that of civil society, since the methods that are applied to the child cannot differ in essence from those that later on will be applied to the man" (p. 105). If the case is that society and the classroom are reflections of each other, what must occur for each to reflect the changes that multiculturalism is supposed to entail?

So far, I have presented contemporary examples of empirical problems in relation to symbolic interactionism and cultural capital theory. As well, I have given proposed solutions to multicultural education, including what children should be taught at school, how teachers should be trained, and what the relationship should be between the classroom and society. These examples and proposals are specific to the way in which school and power differentials affect teachers and mainly students. The next section focuses on solutions to the way that schools and power differentials affect society based on liberal and critical theories.

Liberal versus Critical Solutions

The liberal viewpoint establishes an empirical and normative relationship between society and the classroom. In particular, this viewpoint asserts that the classroom should reflect the attitudes, politics, and structure of the liberal society in which it dwells. The following presents some of the proposed solutions when there is a perceived discrepancy between what the case *is* and what *should be* the case.

Liberal or functional theory does not provide much in the way of solutions. That theory is interested in maintaining the system the way it is. As stated before, social stratification is considered a necessary aspect of society. It has also been previously stated that liberals are interested in equal opportunity, so in a classroom that promotes multiculturalism, everyone may appear to have the same opportunity to gain the skills of multicultural education, thus appearing to have the same opportunity to attain cultural goods. It is this provision of equal opportunity that liberals purport to solve social problems.

As for critical solutions, Katz (1999) and Farnen (1994) both provide suggestions as to how to reconcile the way that the classroom will reflect society to a classroom that might change society. Farnen (1994) points out from various cross-national comparative studies that "educational philosophies encouraging new curriculum approaches (such as interculturalism, respect, empathy, multiethnic approaches, bilingualism, innovation, and experimentation) seem to be decreasing ethnic and national minority tensions and improving cultural integration" (p. 70). This approach to improving ethnic relations in the classroom concurs with Katz's (1999) suggestions of learning to value every student's cultural background and that empathy is important. She also states the necessity of every school creating its own special plan to meet the particular needs of diverse schools and again refers to the importance that sophisticated skills are needed in order to achieve this.

One theme that has emerged from much of the literature (Marshall, 1998; Herring & White, 1995; Goodwin, 1994) is the idea that students in teacher education programs and counsellor training programs must come to understand their own views about ethnicity, to recognise their own stereotypes and prejudices in order to move beyond them. Students in these programs may sometimes be required to move out of their comfort zones to face issues that are often controversial. This requires not only action on the part of the student, but even those who teach aspiring teachers and counsellors must be willing to do the same in an effort to begin a new cycle of effective multicultural education. Herring and White (1995) suggest that teachers and counsellors partner in schools to bring about effective change. They place much emphasis on the idea that counsellors are already trained well enough to meet the needs of a multicultural school. While this kind of idea seems somewhat overstated, they do recognise at one point that "counselors are not necessarily more multiculturally aware than are teachers, but rather that they have received formal and experiential training in developmental issues and concerns that teachers have not received" (Journal of Humanistic Counseling, Education & Development/2001, May 14).

Further to the above, Goodwin (1994) suggests that preservice teachers (and counsellors) need to become more aware not only of their own beliefs. They must also come to recognise incongruities between their perceptions of what multicultural education should be as compared to what kind of multicultural education really is best. Thus, education students come to be aware of their perceptions toward self, other, and the system in which they are participating.

Beyond these suggestions for teachers, Ghosh and Tarrow (1993) state that, "Cultural sensitivity and knowledge for teachers [is] considered important but anti-racist education further implies understanding of historical and social economic forces involved in cultural politics" (Comparative Education/2001, June 5). To know and have some understanding of the history and politics of different cultures would help eliminate the museum-style approach to multiculturalism.

According to Ghosh and Tarrow (1993), "the critical dialogue [is] rising out of the work of the new sociology of education in Britain and influences analysis of the socially constructed nature of knowledge, as well as the social location of those who produce school knowledge and used it as a 'neutral object' to be transmitted to 'subjects' who have a different social location" (Comparative Education/2001, June 5). They go on to say that politics underlies these relations of power, and as such, school knowledge is not neutral. This idea is reinforced in relation to the role of the teacher.

Critical pedagogy suggests that the focus of school should be empowerment where "the knowledge – power relationship is seen differently so that empowerment is not as much to gain power in the present society as to transform society itself" (Comparative Education/2001, June 5). The old knowledge and power boundaries must be deconstructed to construct knowledge that includes different worldviews. Teachers become change agents; moreover, it should be noted that the same could hold true for school counsellors. According to Ghosh and Tarrow (1993), "when education is viewed as a political process, the teacher's role is seen as even more critical because schooling, then, is neither neutral nor objective" (Comparative Education/2001, June 5).

Ghosh and Tarrow (1993) say that teacher education programs right now do little to equip teachers for the multicultural classroom. The question then becomes how to best structure teacher and counsellor training programs to encourage essential change. To question existing power structures in society can be a dangerous endeavour, for those in authority or positions of power are generally not overly interested in changing the structures that keep them in their elite standing.

The first part of this chapter reviewed meaning and power in education, including discussions of symbolic interactionism, social psychology, cultural hegemony and capital, and Marxist perspectives, and the relationship of politics to these. The second part of the chapter looked at the theory and practice of multiculturalism, its empirical problems and explanatory factors. The third and final section reviewed competing liberal and critical solutions to the various problems presented in the chapter.

There are many proposed suggestions on how to best format teacher and counsellor training programs. All of them refer to some form of more inclusive practices, and some refer to the importance of recognising the historical and political aspects to culture, not only of the "other" cultures encountered in schools, but those cultures from which the teachers and school counsellors come. It should also be noted that family plays a role in children's meaning construction, but this is an aspect that cannot be covered here for the sake of space. Including functionalism, which was covered in the first chapter, all of these different theories have the improvement or development of society in mind. The implication of these theories for Canada is the improvement of society based on the promotion of multiculturalism, implying increased tolerance, respecting and celebrating (ethnic) differences, and so forth. The question remains if proposed changes such as the ones presented so far would have made a difference to someone like Joseph. That question will be explored in later chapters. The following chapter takes a look at various key concepts, definitions, and the methodology that is used in this study.

CHAPTER 3: DEFINITIONS AND METHODOLOGY

So far, the previous chapters have outlined some of the background and purpose of this study and have also provided various theoretical explanations in relation to what happened to Joseph. This chapter defines some key concepts. It also looks at critiques of methodologies to approaching the studies that have already taken place as well as outline the approach that I use for this study. The final part of the chapter outlines the actual investigation that takes place.

Definitions

It is necessary to define and clarify some of the concepts and ideologies that are discussed in this study. First there is a discussion of ethnicity followed by definitions of marginalization and minorities. These concepts are expounded in order to better understand not only their meanings, but also their meanings as I use them in this study.

Ethnicity can encompass many meanings. This discussion is based on the theories of two authors, Matthias Koenig (1999) and Anthony Smith (1986). The following views of ethnicity are adapted from Koenig:

1) Primordialism – an ontological theory where in the extreme, ethnicity is measured in socio-biological categories but generally characterised by "given" categories such as territory, religion, and language.

2) Constructivism – "the result of a complex social process in which symbolic boundaries are continuously constructed and reconstructed by the use of mythologies, an historical account of a common past or language" (Management of Social Transformations).

3) Instrumentalist – looks at "the processes of political mobilization and manipulation by which social groups are constituted on the basis of ethnic attributes such as nationality, religion, race, or language. Instead of regarding these two approaches as being mutually exclusive, they should be regarded as complementary; while the former focuses on the socio-*cultural* construction of ethnicity, the latter emphasizes socio-*political* (and economical) factors underlying the formation of ethnic groups" (MOST/2000, December 11).

Smith's (1986) use of the word *ethnie* is described as the "ethnic community and its symbolism" (p. 13). *Ethnie* is comprised by a collective name, a common myth of descent, a shared history, a distinctive shared culture, an association with a specific territory, and a sense of solidarity. Smith (1986) expresses how *ethnie* is commonly manipulated by elites for some political gain. This corresponds to Koenig's (1999) definition of instrumental approaches to studying ethnicity, while the components of *ethnie* correspond to constructivist and some aspects of primordial approaches. However, ethnicity is used synonymously with *ethnie* for the purposes of simplicity in this study, and the above information is meant to underscore the multi-faceted meanings of ethnicity.

The concepts of marginalisation and minorities need to be discussed. Much of the literature refers to minorities, minority education, minority rights, and the like. This term is somewhat problematic since it suggests that minorities comprise a small amount of the population, often connotes those of visible minority status, and usually refers to those of a different ethnicity from the dominant group in a nation. It does not account for those that may appear to belong to the dominant group by ethnic appearance, but may belong to a linguistic minority. It also does not take into account socio-economic class differences. In both cases, a group of people may belong to an ethnic group that comprise the majority as far as population numbers are concerned, or may belong to a low socio-economic stratum that may also comprise a majority of the population in numbers. Majority numbers do not always entail dominance. To represent this phenomenon better, the term *marginalised* is used.

One term that I have deliberately neglected to define is *race* and related terms such as *racialised*. The reason for this is that the term is one of the more highly controversial words than other terms used to refer to the same ideas. *Race* frequently connotes skin colour, which is too broad a term for most purposes when discussing people that come from different cultures. For instance, to whom does the term *white people* refer, people of Western European descent, people of Eastern European descent, or both? Moreover, what does the fact that their skin colour is something like white tell us about their cultures or countries of origin? I referred to this idea previously when explaining why I referred to Joseph as a black child in chapter one. It is for these reasons that I prefer to use the term *ethnicity* or to talk about *ethnic origin*, which, despite having its own faults, seems to be less problematic than *race* and *racial*. I do occasionally use the term *race* and terms related to it when it has to do with literature using these terms or when it seemed a clearer term to use during the interviews with students.

The last term I need to specify is my use of the terms *socio-economic status* and *class*. The definition comes from observations of Frideres (1993), who believes that Canadian society is vertically organised and that "This stratification has produced major factions that compete with each other over scarce resources. Those groups that have gained power over the past half century continue to wield their influence so as to retain their favoured position in society" (p. 560). He goes on to say that "The lack of power and the malleability of [certain cultural groups] in terms of purchasing consumer goods acts in the best interest of those who control the productive capacity of our society" (p. 560). If this is the case, then class or socio-economic status can be defined in terms of wage-labour relations or the need to sell labour for wages. The wages may not correspond with what the price should be, meaning that labourers may not be paid enough. Because of this, those selling their labour can be easily exploited by those with economic power and influence in society. Most simply stated, I use the socio-economic status and class to refer to those with full economic power and those without or with some degree less than the full amount. Later, when I discuss human and cultural capital within the context of symbolic interactionism, these power relations also become important.

The previous section described and defined various terms in order to draw attention to their meaning in the context of this study. Beyond the definitions, I must also ask, what do critical and functional theories mean to the Canadian education system and to views of multiculturalism? The answer to these questions may also help to answer the question of how the incident that happened to Joseph, whose story was told at the beginning of the last chapter, can occur. One can see elements of some of the philosophies previously discussed in schools today: the value placed on science and empiricism; how competition is encouraged in the way students must compete with their classmates for awards, scholarships, and entrance to post-secondary institutions or better occupations and beyond; the attempt to encourage multiculturalism in the classroom by trying to teach students about respect as well as learning about other cultures. If liberalism, as defined by Sadovnik et al. (2001) means that the state should intervene to counteract some of the detrimental aspects of capitalism and that schools are supposed to help solve social ills, what is it doing to combat the fact that some students are not only open to discrimination from peers but also from teachers, administrators, and ultimately, the system? It appears that the system has failed by not training teachers, school counsellors, and other administrators adequately to be cross-culturally aware. If it is the system that has failed, and that system is the regulated by the government, or the provincial governments in the case of Canada, then the liberal philosophy of education, and in particular, multiculturalism in education, has failed. The government has thus become part of the cause of social ills rather than the cure. The following section provides some critique of liberal and functional analysis, Marxist, and critical theories in order to situate myself amongst them in the analytical frame of reference that I use throughout the research.

Methodology

This section looks at some of the limitations of liberal or functional and Marxist and critical analyses to set up a basis for the theoretical and analytical structure of this study. In other words, the point of outlining the limitations is so that I can account and compensate for the ways that these analyses have so far fallen short of explanatory power and offers for solutions. I also delineate the questions to be answered based on my methodological framework.

Both Lewontin (1991) and Wotherspoon (1998) are critical of liberal and functional analyses. I include in functionalism, structuralism, and structural functionalism. As a quick review, they are concerned with educating students with technological skills to help them more easily move into the work force. The school itself, then, is responsible for supplying people for the work force as well as maintaining the social order so as not to upset it the balance of it. As well, "a central assumption of structural functionalist analysis [is] the presupposition that *social stratification and inequality are necessary structural features of advanced society*" (Wotherspoon, 1998, p. 16, emphasis added). As a limitation, Wotherspoon (1998) says that liberal analysis is idealistic, ignores power relations, and also that there is much evidence to support the idea that one's social origins, rather than educational achievement, account more for social success in life. Another problem is that even if schools follow liberal notions of employing empiricism, it does not entail that they promote or are guided by objective truth. In fact, Lewontin (1991) states that even science and so-called empirical inquiry are also influenced by its socio-political context. He says that "People earn their living by science, and as a consequence the dominant social and economic forces in society determine to a large extent what science does and how it does it" (Lewontin, 1991, p. 3). If these critiques are true, then liberal and functional platforms of education will only preserve, if not contribute to, social stratification, and cannot even encourage science and empiricism as objective truth.

Interpretative analyses such as symbolic interactionism, already discussed, are consistent with Lewontin's (1991) critique of liberalism in that they view education as a means by which dominant social groups can maintain their positions in society. Moreover, Randall Collins (1977) states that discrimination against ethnicity, class, and gender, are often stronger determinants of employment attainment and income inequality than is educational achievement. The major problems with these kinds of analyses are that "interpretative sociology is often limited by its failure to link what happens in schools with the world beyond schooling" (Wotherspoon, 1998, p. 29). They ignore the historical context of how the present state of affairs occurred, ignore the "broader social structures, opportunities, and decision-making processes on educational practices and outcomes" (Wotherspoon, 1998, p. 25) and fail to consider the wider social and economic context in the way that negotiations between teachers and pupils can impact things like the self-esteem of the students.

To recap critical views, which include Marxist perspectives and critical theory, these analyses also point out the way that inequalities are maintained under liberal frameworks in society and education. Or in other words, dominant social groups are able to uphold their positions in capitalist societies. As well, critical views propose that liberal or functional ideology claims to promote equal opportunity through educational achievement in society, but that liberal systems already in place have failed to create a more egalitarian society. Wotherspoon (1998) says that the limitations of these views is that they do not focus enough on the way that schools can be used as a way to empower students rather than only maintain the system of social stratification and be venues to propagate capitalist rhetoric. This is despite the fact that critical theorists do believe that schooling can empower people, theorists such as Paolo Freire (discussed later), but perhaps there just has not been enough emphasis in this area.

Within these various analyses, I am situated most in the interpretative field, and in particular, symbolic interactionism, with elements of critical theory. In other words, the view is a combination of interpretative analysis and Marxism. The description of this follows that of the way Roxana Ng (1993) describes relations in society. There are societal relations to cultural knowledge or cultural capital, relations to education, and relations to income attainment. These relations are not just material relations, but also ideological relations. According to Ng (1993), as these relations exist in Canada right now, income attainment is not congruent with level of academic achievement, and the basis for this is ethnicity. It is through examining these relations that I plan to avoid the problem of not relating what occurs in schools to the real world.

What does my philosophical framework mean for this study? From this framework arise the questions that are answered by this research. This topic is covered in the next section. Right now, I conclude this section where I examine problems with different philosophical frameworks, namely liberalism or functionalism, interpretative theories, and critical theories. I situate myself amongst these frameworks and how I attempt to solve or account for the various problems that are apparent. The last part of this chapter describes the questions I am interested in answering, and the method I use to answer them.

Suggested Empirical Research Methods

This section poses the questions that are the basis for the research that is undertaken in this study. I not only describe the questions, but also include the way in which I attempt to answer them. In other words, I present the procedures I used to conduct the research. Each question is stated along with the method to respond to it. There are two questions in total, related to the issues identified in the first chapter, and corresponding to the thesis statement of comparing the learning system to the system of social stratification. Although there were eight initial issues in the first chapter, I include only the issues that are most immediately relevant to functional and liberal ideology in education. As well, some of the issues are related and can be collapsed into a single problem to be explored. The two questions that I have identified follow.

The first question is about the character of the learning system, or synonymously for my purposes, the education system. Sub-questions related to this are: what is the structure of the curriculum, and in particular the role that multicultural education plays in it? What does the field of counselling psychology have to say about multicultural issues? What kinds of intervention are used when problems arise, problems that are related to ethnicity or racism, educational achievement, and discord among student relations?

To respond to these questions, I did content analysis of textbooks from post-secondary training programs for teachers and school counsellors as well as Alberta Education policies to examine the ways in which teachers are to present multiculturalism in the classroom. Part of the motive for using this kind of data is to create the "dialogue between data and concepts" (p. 389) as suggested by Neuman (2000). The reason for examining only Alberta Education policies is because Canadian provinces are responsible for their own education systems, and there is no complete federal policy to analyse. Since each province differs in policy design, there is not enough space to examine all of the provinces across the country, and the comparison might be confounded because of the varying demographics throughout the country.

The second question deals with the result of the learning or education system. It is already theorised that the Multiculturalism Act introduced by the federal government in

1971 was supposed to increase tolerance between different ethnic groups, create equal opportunity, and minimise ethnic discrimination. Have these results occurred, or does stratification continue to exist in different ways? Responding to Porter (1965), who claimed that educational achievement was divided along ethnic categories, Guppy and Davies (1998) and Lian and Matthews (1998) propose that educational achievement has equalised between different ethnic groups, but that despite equal achievement in school, there exists inequality in income attainment between ethnic groups. Is stratification a necessary ingredient of society, as liberals and functionalists say? Or even if stratification is difficult to abolish, must it be based on ethnic categories?

As I have previously suggested, some research has already been done to show that educational achievement has become more equalised within the last decade. While this may be the case, do students feel that there is equality in their schools, that they are being treated with fairness and tolerance, as their multicultural education component is supposed to encourage? What do students feel about racism in the schools? Farnen (1994) provides several case studies from around the world dealing with ethnicity, nationalism, and identity. He not only presents these case studies, but also provides critiques and constructive advice on how the research for various studies could have been conducted better. He gives examples, for instance, of questions that different researchers used in their studies and then offers questions that those researchers could have used in addition to or in place of their own questions. Farnen (1994) states that "an example of one such basic question would be: "What has the student been taught and what does the student know about national identity and its influence on one's positive self-image (i. e., conceptions of self and one's citizenship) at the individual or everyday level of life?" (p. 61). As for the kinds of questions to ask the students who participated in the interviews, there were several kinds of questions relating to multiculturalism, ethnicity, discrimination, and their sense of identity within the context of the school.

Besides the theme of the questions that I mentioned above, some demographical information was also important to collect. One piece of information that was useful was to find out what their ethnic origin(s) are if they know. This was significant to indicate how the participants label their own identities in relation to students of ethnic origins different from their own. To account for students who may identify themselves as Canadian, and not a hyphenated Canadian (such as Chinese-Canadian), I also asked where the students' parents were born in order to know if the students were also born outside of Canada and how long they had been in Canada if they were not born here. Another demographical piece of information that was useful to know was each participant's first language. Since language or linguistic ability is frequently linked with identity, to know what the participants' first language is could have been significant. As well, since knowledge of the dominant language is viewed as significant to gaining cultural goods, it was important to have an idea how proficient each participant was in English, the dominant language of most schools in Alberta. Finally, to know any second, third or more languages a student speaks may have provided some significant information. The bearing that knowledge of other languages might provide was difficult to prescribe, and it turned out that this information was not that important in the end, but I wanted to cover as many angles as I could to try to gain any important and useful information as I could. John Edwards (1995) suggests, "that it is the *interrelationships* among language and their speakers which create interest and tension" (p. 176), so finding out other languages that participants speak could not only have provided some interest, but some usefulness as well, although as I stated, this did not end up being the case. However, it should be noted that knowledge of other languages would be significant in the context of the global economy since the students would be able to participate in more markets having corresponding languages to function in them. The students then have this advantage in cultural goods owned, but they may still be disadvantaged from receiving other cultural goods besides knowledge of non-dominant languages.

Constraints on which students would qualify to participate were introduced as well. Students who had gone to school all of their lives, or for a significant portion of them, in Alberta were the only students to qualify. This was because the students needed to have experienced enough of the Alberta education system in order to compare their experiences in the schools with the system itself.

High school students were interviewed to find out about their experiences in the education system in Alberta. The reason why high school students were used is because they are most likely to be at the cognitive developmental stage to be able to reflect with the greatest insight about their schooling experiences as well as guaranteeing that they have spent a significant portion of their lives, if not all their lives, in the education system of Alberta. Five students were selected carefully to account for the restraints. More detail of the interviews is given in chapter six, which discusses the results of the interviews.

The specific procedure of the interviews followed some field research methods of interviewing and some survey interview methods. Neuman (2000) reviews survey interviews, stating that they ask very guided questions. The demographical section was conducted this way. However, the rest of the questions were mostly open-ended questions, and the attempt was made to have "a friendly conversational exchange, but with more interviewer questions" (p. 371), which is one of the characteristics of typical field interviews. In order to leave the questions open for any response and thoughts from the respondents, it was important to foster some sense of casualness and a less structured format.

Limitations of the Methodology

All of the questions that were answered based on the actual research and suggestions that were later provided can initially be treated as valid within the context of this research, and these findings have limitations. Extension of the findings can be sought with future research and extending the sample size of interviewees, school systems, or via theoretical elaboration.

In the theoretical section of this study, the coverage of various theories of education, however, was also limited. While several theories were discussed briefly, I focused on liberal views and a mixture of symbolic interaction and critical theory, since this was the analytical standpoint from which I conducted my research. However, while it is clear that the philosophy of multiculturalism in education is from a liberal perspective, the role of gender in this study, along with others, as well as other feminist issues, could be other significant factors that I have not examined. Another limitation is that I cannot be sure that I have given a sufficient critique of my own philosophical framework since it is the bias that I have. I did attempt to provide some critique of my view and try to prevent errors in reasoning or practice, such as the critique that symbolic interactionism doe not make any connections with the real world. My goal was to include these connections. However, I may not be likely to see all errors in any conclusions that I make, so those conclusions may not have taken into account other critiques.

Further limitations can be found in my definitions. I chose single definitions for many of the terms and concepts that I used and to which I was referring throughout the essay. There may be some definitions that can easily be solitary, but some definitions, such as ethnicity and multiculturalism, are highly debatable terms and no one definition of them has been agreed upon. In these cases, I defined these terms according to either what was most representative of my preference or what I felt to be representative of the most popularly accepted definition.

The limitations of the empirical research are many. Beginning with the research of the university textbooks, the findings are valid insofar as students take at least one of the courses for which one of these textbooks is required. It is not important that a student take more than one of these courses in order to receive more information about multiculturalism issues since the ratio is the same for each class that uses this textbook, spending approximately nine out of every one hundred pages on these types of issues. The kind of information found in all of the books is approximately the same as well, except for the book *Individual Psychological Assessment*, which has some more in depth information about these topics. The findings from this book are only valid for students that take this course as graduate students and who go on to actually become school counsellors. As well, these textbooks are limited to University of Alberta courses. If they are used at other institutions, then these findings become valid for those, but otherwise, the information presented here is only representative of teacher training programs at this particular university.

As for the information in the textbooks itself, the assumption was made that students actually read these pages containing this information. It also does not take into account individual differences between classes based on pedagogical styles and personalities of professors. Depending on the instructor, students may receive extra in-class information or training with regards to multiculturalism in the school. A final note in the context of the textbooks themselves is that some of them are written by people from the United States and meant for populations from the same country. While the majority of the information found in those books may be useful for Canadians, when it comes to ethnicity in the classroom, the dynamics of ethnic relations between the two countries is not necessarily experienced in the same way, so the issues and suggestions discussed in these books may not be as valid for Canadians as they are for Americans.

The information found in Alberta Education guidelines and policies also falls under the assumption that pre-service or new teachers will have read them. Since there were no guidelines specifically for school counsellors in areas of multiculturalism, this assumption does not hold for them. The assumption here is that teachers must read, know, follow, and update themselves on these guidelines so that they are informed as to what the government expects of them. Provided that teachers are following these guidelines properly, my conclusions can be valid. Beyond these assumptions, is the idea that even if teachers are following these guidelines, again, it does not account for individual differences in teachers. Depending on their ethnic origins, upbringing, cultural awareness, and level of self-awareness, their style of teaching will be affected by all of these. Teachers may have their own pedagogical style. One teacher might be Freirian such that, although he or she may have to follow the guidelines set by the province, the view of this teacher as to what the classroom should be used for may be different from the standard, and the consequent experience of the students may be different. On a similar note, I mentioned that one solution for some of the problems that I identified was to perhaps include some type of course for teachers in training that gives them better instruction about culture and their role in that context. Some students may actually have already taken such courses when they had options, and may therefore begin their teaching careers with a different frame of mind. There are too many factors here to name that can influence individual differences, but these are some of the main ones.

With the interviews, there are also many limitations. The population sample for this project was quite small. Ideally, it would give a better representation of school experiences if the population sample could be larger, but this is also too much for a project of this size. Still, with a greater number of participants to interview, the variation in experiences should increase and a greater number of ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds can be included. As is the case in most types of research, the larger the sample, the more reliable the results. One thing that may have posed a hindrance to participants was the use of the recording device. Two of the participants in particular felt a little pressure being recorded, feeling like everything they said would be analysed and evaluated, as well as feeling a time constraint. Would written surveys have produced a different result or one that had even more information in it than what the interviews produced? Given more time to respond to survey questions, the intuitive answer to this question is yes. Some different questions could have been asked to students as well, such as what their general thoughts on multiculturalism are, if they think it is advantageous to the Canadian identity (which would need to be defined for the sake of argument) or detrimental in any way. As well, being that language is a key factor in symbolic interactionism, more questions dealing with language could also have been asked. Besides these limitations, Neuman (2000) outlines various reasons where bias can occur in interviews. While these errors refer to survey interviews, some of these still apply to field research-type interviews. One of these that could have constrained these interviews is errors by the respondent, where they can misunderstand or give an answer they might not give when they do not feel nervous or even embarrassed. Another of these reasons is the failure of the interviewer to probe correctly. The final reason is that the interviewer's tone, dress, reactions to some answers, or some comments made outside the time of the interview. Despite these limitations, the students still provided a wealth of information for the study.

With regards to the empirical research as a whole, there were some aspects which would have been quite useful to study but could not be done due to the scope of this study. One of the main aspects that are missing is the role that the home life plays in teaching students about multiculturalism. Although there is a trend to turn teachers into the dual role of teacher-parent, children do still spend a fairly large amount of time at home. Similarly, the location of the home and the scope of various kinds of people with which the family interacts, meaning in which community these parts of life are situated, is also important. With whom do the children grow up? What are the neighbours like? Who works at the local convenient stores and places where the children frequent? The time they spend at school is only one part of their lives, and their home and community lives play just as large a role as does the school when analysing how children negotiate knowledge of various cultures, cultural knowledge of Canada (if it could be easily defined), language, relationships with people from different socioeconomic backgrounds, and even those of the other gender. This study focused only on school, and the largest limitation of this is not being able to study students' lives outside of it.

Conclusion

This chapter covered many different topics. The main two topics were definitions of terms and concepts that are used in the study, and also the discussion of my methodology and procedures for the empirical part of the research. I discussed my use of various terms throughout the research as well as some of the issues surrounding some of the more controversial terms, such as *ethnicity*. The second part of the chapter featured the description of the content analysis used to produce the data in the fourth and fifth chapters plus the method used for the interviews presented in chapter six. As well, the limitations of the methodology, both theoretical and empirical were delineated. The following three chapters present the data collected from the empirical part of the study.

CHAPTER 4: TEXTBOOKS

In the preceding chapters, I have discussed some of the previous research in areas related to multicultural education and the role of school counsellors within this context. I have also presented various theoretical approaches to multiculturalism in schools. This chapter presents the information pertaining to the analysis of education students' university textbooks. The purpose of analysing textbooks is to examine how pre-service teachers and aspiring school counsellors are being prepared for multicultural schools through the textbooks that they read. I cannot assume that all students read the textbooks, read them cover to cover, or that the content of the textbooks is transmitted and received independently of the values of the professor, the student, or the authors of the book. However, Apple and Christian-Smith (1991) state that textbooks are important to examine because, among other reasons, "They are published within the political and economic constraints of markets, resources, and power," (p. 2) and also "participate in creating what a society has recognised and legitimate and truthful" (p. 4). I therefore make the assumption that students are influenced by textbooks outside the influence of their professors' and their own biases. As well, Richards (1997) stresses the important role that language plays in relationships of power as "language provides the very terms in which to understand the world, especially the social world" and that "those in power necessarily have a built-in…advantage" (p. xvi). Being that few of the terms for which I was searching are defined or even mentioned, it might be political correctness that is to blame. For example, "Marxist terminology…eventually proved generally unusable not because the concepts themselves were 'disproved' but because using them enabled a negative stereotype to be imposed on the user" (Richards, 1997, p. xvi). Perhaps racism or race and ethnic inequality or ethnicity is not touched upon because they are words with negative connotations. Or, the analysis of them in textbooks may mean admitting that there is a problem, but if there is no discussion, there is no problem. Indeed, in relation to the previous chapters, the results presented in this chapter raise the question of how these data are consistent with liberal philosophy on multicultural education and if and where they are lacking consistency with the same. In relation to research presented later on, three other questions obtain: 1. Is the information in the textbooks consistent with Alberta Education guidelines for school policy? 2. Is the textbook information helping to prepare teachers and counsellors adequately for the realties they will face in a school with varied ethnic backgrounds? 3. How do the answers to these latter two questions affect students vis-à-vis students?

This chapter details the procedure used to collect the first set of data and presents the findings for these data as well. In relation to multiculturalism in education, introductory textbooks for education students planning to teach in elementary schools and introduction books to education psychology, including one textbook from the graduate level were examined. The latter textbook was used because in Alberta, education counsellors, and psychologists in general, must have a minimum of a Master's degree in order to be a licensed psychologist. Education psychology textbooks at the graduate level rather than the undergraduate level might better represent those students that go on to pursue education psychology to become school counsellors. I first identify which textbooks were used. Second, I explore the system for information collection. Third, I present the data collected for the research and a description of them, and the fourth section is a summary of these findings. The textbooks that I used were *Reflective Planning, Teaching, and Evaluation for the Elementary School* (Eby, 1997), *Developmentally Appropriate Practices in Early Childhood Education* (Bredekamp & Copple, Eds., 1997), *Psychology for Teaching* (Le Francois, 1997), *Theory and Practice of Counseling and Psychotherapy* (Corey, 2001), and *Assessment of Children* (Sattler, 1988). Generally, the textbooks contained on average the same amount of information on issues relating to multiculturalism in the schools and surprisingly more information than anticipated with possibly less information pertaining to these issues than there should be. However, the higher than expected amount of information did not entail better quality information in that certain aspects of multiculturalism were covered more than others, and even the quality of some of the information when it was given was sometimes questionable.

Which Textbooks to Use

What procedure was used to select the textbooks? The following outlines the process of the textbook selection.

Students in education at the University of Alberta begin their first year of studies taking general courses not offered by the Faculty of Education, so those courses offered for the second to fourth years of study were considered for this study, as well as the one course for first-year graduate students at the Master's level in education psychology. The graduate level textbook was used because obviously not all education students go into counselling, so it is more likely that students in this graduate level class will pursue that stream. Courses were considered valuable if they were titled as introduction courses but were also considered if they introduced a topic that would be relevant to issues of multiculturalism in the classroom or the school in general.

In sum, the criteria for considering textbooks were the following: 1. Was this a textbook for a course taken by education and/or education psychology students? 2. Is the course, for which a corresponding textbook will be chosen, compulsory for these students, such as introductory courses often are? 3. Does this textbook introduce or cover multiculturalism and related issues? The reason these criteria were used was to try to account for the fact that not all education students take exactly the same courses throughout their careers as education students. Most students are likely to take introductory courses of various kinds, so it seemed that choosing such courses would provide a higher probability of the majority of students, and therefore pre-service teachers, having taken them. As well, since the focus of my research in this entire study is to examine the role of multiculturalism in schools, courses and textbooks that did not cover this topic would be irrelevant.

After a preliminary review of the textbooks required for the original pool of courses was chosen, a process of elimination was used to extract textbooks that were not related to the topic of study. As an example, I considered a textbook called *Language Development: An Introduction* (Owens, 2001) believing it might have relevant, instructional information on the socio-cultural implications of, or issues related to, bilingualism and multilingualism. This textbook focused solely on neurolinguistic and psycholinguistic aspects of language development, ignoring the sociolinguistic aspects. Sociolinguistic perspectives would more likely attend to issues of power, racism, and other aspects for which I was looking, all of which influence the brain's development of language. When it was found that this was the case, this book was eliminated as a source of data. However, one of the courses is entitled Program Environments in Early Childhood Education, and the textbook for this course contains instruction to the education student as to dealing with various cultures in the classroom, so this was a book I included as a source of data.

Using the procedure outlined above, there were five courses with the corresponding textbooks that I used for the research (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1: Courses and Corresponding Textbooks Used

Course Number	Course Name	Textbook Title
Elementary Education 300	Introduction to Teaching in the Elementary School	*Reflective Planning, Teaching, and Evaluation for the Elementary School*
Elementary Education 355	Program Environments in Early Childhood Education	*Developmentally Appropriate Practices in Early Childhood Education*
Education Psychology 200	Educational Psychology for Teaching	*Psychology for Teaching*
Education Psychology 442	Introduction to Counselling	*Theory and Practice of Counseling and Psychotherapy*
Education Psychology 545	Individual Psychological Assessment	*Assessment of Children*

After deciding on these books, it was necessary to decide more precisely the information to be extracted from them.

System of Information Collection

The form of analysis used to collect information from these textbooks was content analysis. More specifically, questions pertaining to various themes were sought in the text. These themes were extracted using a combination of manifest and latent coding consistent with Neuman's (2000) definitions of each. Manifest coding collects the visible, surface content of text, such as the number of times a specific word appears in the text. Latent coding seeks underlying and implicit meaning in the text's content such as the characteristics or the quality of the items from manifest coding. Neuman (2000) states that latent coding is less reliable because "It depends on the coder's knowledge of language and social meaning" (p. 296), although he states that if used in conjunction with manifest coding, reliability is increased if these two measures agree. Lower reliability may be apparent as I attempt to analyse the amount of certain information I find in the textbooks, but I have tried to use both manifest and latent coding to eliminate as much unreliability as possible. As well, there are different ways to collect this kind of data. There are computer programs that can count units, especially for manifest coding, or it can be done manually. In this case, I manually coded the units for which I was seeking. There were questions asked under three different aspects of the kind of information sought, which succeeded the first question of which textbooks to use. These are listed below.

The first question asked: What are the themes relevant to the kind of information for which I am looking? I came up with a list of words for which I wanted to find information in the textbooks that seemed related to the issues being discussed in this study and in relation to Joseph's experience. The words are accent, multicultur*[4], cultur*, ethnic*, bilingualism, multilingualism, language (when it related to second or multiple languages being spoken), test bias, social class, socio-economic, low-income, minority (and any word in combination with it), class (in socio-economic terms as I have defined them earlier), and diversity. The reason for these words is that they seemed to reflect best the kinds of topics that might possibly be addressed in teacher-training or counsellor-training programs. The other questions were researched based on this list of search words, which were ultimately themes.

The second set of questions to find information for was for the characteristics of the information. The questions under this heading were the following: Where did this information occur in the text? Was this information part of a text or textbox? How much space is allotted to the theme words for which I am searching? The first question was represented by chapter titles, subsection headings, or topic of discussion. The second question recorded whether the information appeared in the text or a textbox, with the underlying notion that the probability of reading through textboxes or side notes is lower than that of the main paragraphs of the book. The third question considering space was represented as the number of pages containing one or more of the search terms in relation to the number of total pages of text. The number of pages was tabulated by counting the number of pages for which the search terms were listed in the indices. While this may seem simplistic, the quality of this information is examined later. The information that was considered "text" was what I defined as instructional text. This kind of text does not include pages containing information such as pages using Roman Numerals, tables of content, reference pages, and pages that were blank separating chapters or had no information but a chapter title, yet were included in the page count. However, if pages contained simply some quotes related to the upcoming chapter, such pages were included in the count since the quotes could be instructional.

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[4] * Stands for truncation. In other words, any word that had the stem of multicultur* in it, such as multicultural, was considered to fall into this theme word. It also includes the word in the context of its use with other word(s), as in the term culture bias.

The third set of questions looked more closely at the themes of the information themselves. The questions that were asked were the following: Is the theme or search term defined? Is the theme or search word considered an issue or a problem, something requiring a solution? Even if it requires a solution, is the problem deemed important enough to solve? Are any suggestions given to solve the problems identified? The first question in this section was answered by stating which, if any, of the search terms were defined. All of the other questions were answered either "yes" or "no."

The fourth set of questions dealt with the quality of the information. These following were the questions: What information is missing? What are the solutions given, if any? Are there any references to studies or research to show the effects of the suggestions? The first of these questions required a more subjective answer than most of the other questions being asked. Answers to these questions were recorded as information that I thought could have been included in the various topics of the text. The second of these questions was answered by writing down the solutions that had been given. The third of the questions was again a simple "yes" or "no" question.

Results

Data collected for the latter three sets of questions are presented in Tables 4.2-4.6. Please note that these texts are not meant to be compared to each other, necessarily, but compared to the findings that are presented in the subsequent two chapters. Only the textbook titles are listed to distinguish between the results of the data and do not include the course levels. To find the corresponding course title and level of the course, refer once more to Table 4.1. In each table, the title of the textbook appears at the top. The sections are then divided in accordance with the three questions I have just discussed above, and these sections are listed on the left-hand side of the tables. The first of these sections describes the characteristics of the information: where the information occurred in the text, if it was part of the text of a textbox, and the amount of space allotted to the topic, measured by a ratio of the number of pages allotted to the number of total pages of text. The second section looked at four areas to describe the themes of the information, including any definitions of any of the search terms, if the search term was considered an issue or a problem to be solved, if any problems identified were considered important to be solved, and if there were any suggestions given for the problems that were identified. The final section assesses the quality of the information by asking what information is missing, what solutions are suggested for any problems that were identified, and if there were any references to research provided to support the use of the suggestions given. The following four tables present the results of these questions.

Table 4.2: First Textbook Findings

Reflective Planning, Teaching, and Evaluation for the Elementary School		
Characteristics of the information	Where information occurred in text	■ A section talking about the needs of bilingual and bicultural students ■ A section on Cultural, Language, and Academic Development teaching credentials ■ Subtitle "Teaching and Learning in a Multicultural Community"
	Part of text or text box	■ Text ■ Case study embedded in the chapter
	Space allotted to topic (number of pages allotted/number of pages of text)	■ 8/301
Themes of the information	Is any of the search terms defined? Which ones?	■ None
	Is the search term an issue, a problem to be solved?	■ No ■ (Note that diversity considered something to celebrate)
	If a problem is identified, is it important to solve?	■ Yes ■ (Note that the methods are for celebration, not to solve problems)
	Suggestions for problems identified	■ Yes
Quality of the information	What information is missing?	■ There is no discussion of what culture is ■ Does not address issues related to socio-economic position
	Suggested solutions, if any	■ Culture fairs ■ Ask questions about cultures to parents during interviews ■ Allow parents to participate in culture fairs
	References to studies or research to support effects of suggestions?	■ No

Table 4.3: Second Textbook Findings

Developmentally Appropriate Practices in Early Childhood Education		
Characteristics of the information	Where information occurred in text	■ Discussions of food choices, language conflict, culture in the classroom ■ When describing appropriate and inappropriate teaching practices, general locations
	Part of text or text box	■ Part of text set in a 2-column chart ■ In the position statement of the researchers writing the book ■ Text box
	Space allotted to topic (number of pages allotted/number of pages of text)	■ 28/159
Themes of the information	Is any of the search terms defined? Which ones?	■ Culture is defined
	Is the search term an issue, a problem to be solved?	■ Yes
	If a problem is identified, is it important to solve?	■ Yes
	Suggestions for problems identified	■ Yes
Quality of the information	What information is missing?	■ Information on educational testing is not in the context of any of the discussion of culture and language
	Suggested solutions, if any	■ Main suggestion is to learn about the cultures of the students ■ Talk to parents about their culture
	References to studies or research to support effects of suggestions?	■ No

Table 4.4: Third Textbook Findings

Psychology for Teaching		
Characteristics of the information	Where information occurred in text	■ Throughout the chapters, not limited to one space or section
	Part of text or text box	■ Part of glossary ■ In text and text box ■ In summaries of main points in chapter
	Space allotted to topic (number of pages allotted/number of pages of text)	■ 35/500
Themes of the information	Is any of the search terms defined? Which ones?	■ Culture, multicultural education defined
	Is the search term an issue, a problem to be solved?	■ Yes. (Test bias considered a problem and teachers suggested to be cautious with their results) ■ No. (Other terms are considered a source of opportunities, not problems)
	If a problem is identified, is it important to solve?	■ Yes
	Suggestions for problems identified	■ Yes
Quality of the information	What information is missing?	■ Issues related to social class ■ Idea that people can come from different cultures without having different languages
	Suggested solutions, if any	■ Use culture-fair tests ■ Use tests along with common sense ■ Multicultural education = multilingual education
	References to studies or research to support effects of suggestions?	■ Yes, there are references to research in methods of bilingual education

Table 4.5: Fourth Textbook Findings

Theory and Practice of Counseling and Psychotherapy		
Characteristics of the information	Where information occurred in text	■ Approaches to counselling given and their effectiveness in multicultural counselling ■ 2 tables, a summary of multicultural counselling in all the counselling methods
	Part of text or text box	■ Text, text box
	Space allotted to topic (number of pages allotted/number of pages of text)	■ 45/457
Themes of the information	Is any of the search terms defined? Which ones?	■ Culture is defined only in the context of a conditional, i. e. "If culture is defined as…then…"
	Is the search term an issue, a problem to be solved?	■ Yes
	If a problem is identified, is it important to solve?	■ Yes
	Suggestions for problems identified	■ Yes
Quality of the information	What information is missing?	■ The appropriateness in cultures of asking questions to parents about their culture; may be construed as invasive
	Suggested solutions, if any	■ Become aware of your own values and attitudes as well as those of your clients and community with which you work; ask questions of your clients ■ Be flexible and open ■ Remember cultural factors in assessment and treatment
	References to studies or research to support effects of suggestions?	■ No

Table 4.6: Fifth Textbook Findings

Individual Psychological Assessment		
Characteristics of the information	Where information occurred in text	■ Chapter on intelligence, as well as assessment of motor skills and perception ■ Section on cross cultural and cross-class interviewing techniques ■ Chapter on assessment of ethnic minority children ■ Chapters on evaluation the tests themselves
	Part of text or text box?	■ Text, text box
	Space allotted to topic (number of pages allotted/number of pages of text)	■ 40/916
Themes of the information	Is any of the search terms defined? Which ones?	■ Yes ■ Cultural biased tests, bilingualism
	Is the search term an issue, a problem to be solved?	■ Yes
	If a problem is identified, is it important to solve?	■ Yes
	Suggestions for problems identified	■ Yes
(Quality of the information) Quality of the information	What information is missing?	■ No acknowledgement that they make generalisations about cultures they talk about ■ Do not acknowledge the conditions that make certain classes and cultures disadvantaged in the first place

	Suggested solutions, if any	■ Use caution in interpreting results of tests with ethnic minority children ■ Use several different tests with ethnic minority children to increase reliability ■ Some information given on Asian-, Hispanic- and African-American children ■ Information on how to interact with Hispanic-American clients ■ Possibility of using different tests depending on the ethnicity of the client because some are better for some groups than others ■ If any children are from disadvantaged homes, try to make up for what they "missed out on" at home
	References to studies or research to support effects of suggestions?	■ Yes, there are suggestions on which tests to use ■ Show that many culture-fair tests have poor reliability and validity ■ Research shows that standard tests are still more often fair

As these tables show, there is much information to be found in the various textbooks. In *Reflective Planning, Teaching, and Evaluation for the Elementary School* (see Table 4.2), few pages pertaining to issues of multiculturalism are allotted, and while the author believes that diversity is something to be celebrated and not viewed as problematic, she gives suggestions for problems anyway. Significantly more pages were allotted to issues of multiculturalism in *Developmentally Appropriate Practices in Early Childhood Education* (see Table 4.3). This textbook even offered a definition of culture, as well as giving suggestions for problems related to multiculturalism that were identified. *Psychology of Teaching* (see Table 4.4) offered a fair amount of pages to multicultural issues, and like the previous textbook just mentioned, promoted multiculturalism as an opportunity rather than a problem. At the same time, the author of

Psychology for Teaching recognised the presence of culture bias in tests. Multicultural education was viewed differently that the other two textbooks where it was equated more with multilingual education, recognising and incorporating the languages of other students in the classroom. In *Theory and Practice of Counseling and Psychotherapy* (see Table 4.5), the findings are similar to *Developmentally Appropriate Practices in Early Childhood Education* in that there is a fair amount of coverage of issues related to multiculturalism, identifying these issues as problematic, although the suggested solutions related more to the education or counselling student to become more self-aware. *Individual Psychological Assessment* (see Table 4.6) also offered relatively little space to multiculturalism, but covered the issues in great detail when they were covered. Problems were identified and many solutions were suggested in response. The following paragraphs provide a statistical comparison of all the textbooks.

The mean amount of space allotted to the search terms was 8.2% of all text pages. The last textbook, *Individual Psychological Assessment,* which is the one that is used at the graduate level (see Table 4.6), was not factored into the calculations shown here because the focus here is on undergraduate students, who would not take the course requiring this textbook. However, the calculations with the graduate textbook are shown after this first set.

Percentages for the undergraduate textbooks are presented here. For *Reflective Panning, Teacher, and Evaluation for the Elementary School* (see Table 4.2), the amount of space allotted to the search terms is 2.7% of all text pages. *Developmentally*

Appropriate Practices in Early Childhood Education (see Table 4.3) allots 17.6% of its space to the search terms, and *Psychology for Teacher* (see Table 4.4) allots exactly 7.0% of its space to the search terms. For *Theory and Practice of Counseling and Psychotherapy* (see Table 4.5), 9.8% of all text pages are allotted to the search terms.

When examined only by percentages, *Psychology for Teaching* appears to assign significantly more space to the search terms than do the other texts, and significantly more in relation to the mean amount of space allotted for all the undergraduate texts. However, when these figures are converted into z-scores, they all fall within 1 standard deviation above or below the mean, showing that none of the books stray very far from the mean. In the order from the previous paragraph, the z-scores are -0.61, 0.76, -0.21, -0.21, and 0.05, respectively.

With *Individual Psychological Assessment* factored in, the results must be viewed only under the condition where the graduate student has taken all of the undergraduate courses whose textbooks are used for this study. The mean amount of total pages allotted to the search terms becomes 6.7% of all text pages. Accounting for this last textbook in these calculations significantly changes two of the other z-scores. The amount of space allotted for the search terms in the *Individual Psychological Assessment* is 4.4% of all text pages. The z-scores for all books in the same order as before, and *Individual Psychological Assessment* being listed last, are -1.07, 1.77, -0.25, 0.30, and -0.75, respectively. Only For *Reflective Panning, Teacher, and Evaluation for the Elementary School* and *Developmentally Appropriate Practices in Early Childhood Education* are more than 1 standard deviation above or below the mean, and in this case, *Developmentally Appropriate Practices in Early Childhood Education* is almost 2 standard deviations above the mean. Again, the rest of the books fall very close to the mean.

A more detailed and comprehensive analysis of these data follows in chapter seven, but suffice it to say that preliminary statements about the data can be made. On average, the textbooks do cover topics such as multiculturalism, socio-economic status, and multilingualism in approximately eight percent of all topics covered in these textbooks. In some instances, issues like "multiculturalism" were not viewed as a problem in the school or social issue but were defined as *learning opportunities* or *reasons to celebrate*. As well, these kinds of topics appeared in various parts of the textbook, not limited to one part of the book, such as an appendix. Solutions or suggestions assumed for the "problems" of multiculturalism were to "learn about the students' cultures" by either asking them or their parents, and for the classroom, having students learn songs or literature from different countries or having culture fairs. The kind of information that was most often missing was discussion about techniques or the appropriateness of finding out information about cultures by asking students and parents, lack of discussion about what defines culture or multiculturalism, and perhaps some of the other search terms. The search term "accent" did not appear in any of the texts, meaning that any issues pertaining to accents were also missing.

This chapter examined the use of textbooks to collect data. I provided theoretical and intuitive reasons for the significance of analysing textbooks as well and detailing the process I used to select the textbooks that were used for this study. I then described the method I used to set up the information collection, presented the data, and explained the results. A short summary of commonalities and points of interest followed all of these sections. The next chapter examines Alberta Education curriculum and policy guidelines examined in the same manner as these textbooks.

CHAPTER 5: GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS

The chapter just presented examined the content of university textbooks for pre-service teachers and aspiring school counsellors. The content that was of interest was topics related to multiculturalism in the classroom and school. This chapter resembles the previous one with respect to the type of content being analysed. In this chapter, however, I have chosen to look for the same content in Alberta Education policy guidelines to find out what these guidelines state in relation to multiculturalism in the school. The document examined is the *Basic Learning Policies, Regulations and Forms Manual*. The reason for choosing to examine Alberta Education policy guidelines is to compare what Alberta Education states about multiculturalism and related topics in the classroom to the same topics in the university textbooks. The point is to try to discover if the information found in both places, the university textbooks and the policy guidelines, is similar in the frequency of occurrence of the topics and congruent in the attempt to foster the understanding of these topics. This information is then compared, in a later chapter, to the actual experience of students within the school system. The methodology is, in most aspects, the same as that which was used in the last chapter, but there are some minor differences. I explain these in the section following the reasons for choosing the specific Alberta Education publication. Subsequent to these sections is the presentation of results.

Procedures

Many of the procedures are the same as those used in the previous chapter where content analysis using both manifest and latent coding is used. However, the procedure will be detailed again so the differences between the analyses of the two sets of text are clear. I first describe the process of choosing document texts to analyse and then delineate the system used to collect the information.

Which Documents to Use

The document that I chose to analyse was a publication provided by Alberta Learning, which is the departmental ministry responsible for education of the Government of Alberta. The document is called *Basic Learning Policies, Regulations and Forms Manual*. This manual is available in its most updated form on the Internet. There are many documents on the website of Alberta Learning, so I needed to choose one, or a certain number of documents for analysis. The reason I chose this particular document is because I believed that, following Canada's policies on multiculturalism, they would equally contain information pertaining to the same. As well, this document appeared to be one that at least teachers and administrators, if not school counsellors, would read in order to know the expectations of Alberta Learning during their careers. Many of the other documents did not appear to be relevant or were documents that might be read more out of interest than out of being obliged to know Alberta Learning policies for one's job. My final reason for choosing this document is that, although I cannot guarantee that all staff to which this document pertains would read it before beginning employment within the Alberta Education system, I reasoned that they would need to be somewhat familiar with it so as not to violate what Alberta Learning has prescribed for them to do. Furthermore, given the policy directives, if practitioners are not following the guidelines, then they should be, regardless if they are aware of the information or not. Therefore, this policy document provides a normative fundamental by which to judge legitimate educational practices.

System of Information Collection

The text that I analysed for this part of the research was found on the Internet. The reason for this is that the most up-to-date information on Alberta Education policies can be found on their website. As such, the method used to collect the data from these documents varies slightly from that used in the last chapter. I found the document by going to the website at http://www.learning.gov.ab.ca, clicking on the link for Policy and Legislation, and then clicking on the link for the Policy, Regulations and Forms Manual. In the previous chapter, I had manually gone through the indices of the textbooks looking for instances of the key words or themes for which I was searching. Here, there was no index, so I looked through the table of contents using a trial-and-error method. The Alberta Learning documents can be accessed on the Internet either as web-based text or as an Adobe Acrobat document. In this case, I used the Adobe Acrobat format in order to use the search feature in Adobe Acrobat Reader, the program required to read all documents in Adobe Acrobat format. This way, I could search for my themes using the computer instead of going through any indices or pages manually. The search feature allowed me to type in the key word and have the program find any and all instances of the word. There was one exception to downloading all the sections in Adobe Acrobat format, and that was the subsection called Summary of Changes. This was only available as web-based text, so I had to go through it manually.

In this document, there are seven sections in total plus the introduction. The sections that I analysed were the introduction and the first four sections. The other sections did not appear to be as pertinent, as they were forms to be downloaded or appendices. One of the sections was on regulations about different areas that related to funding, how to select a superintendent, and so on. When I scanned these regulatory sections, they contained information that related to those who might be trying to set up a school or education system of some sort (as in home education), such as the technical qualifications required for staff in these schools, such as required degrees, and what to do in case of school closure. Although some of these subjects are policies that may indirectly affect students, I felt they did not relate to policies for staff conduct within the context of the school in general.

The search words I used for this text were the same as the ones I used when analysing the university textbooks. Again, these words are accent, multicultur*, cultur*, ethnic*, bilingualism, multilingualism, language (when it related to second or multiple languages being spoken), test bias, social class, socio-economic, low-income, minority (and any word in combination with it), class (in socio-economic terms as I have defined them earlier), and diversity. The reasons for using these words are the same as in the previous chapter where I felt they best represent the kinds of topics that would or should be addressed by Alberta Learning policy, as well as using this list of words as a constant variable by which to compare this text with that from the university textbooks.

The method for recording the information from this document was similar to the last chapter. In the section on characteristics of the information (see Tables 4.2-4.6), the same three criteria were used: where the information occurred in the text, whether it was part of a text or text box, and how much space was allotted to the topic measured in the number of pages containing one or more of the search terms per number of text pages. For the first criterion, I recorded the name of the subsection to state where the word occurred in the text. The second criterion was almost irrelevant in this case because there were no textboxes, but it was just recorded that all text appeared within the text box as opposed to any textboxes. For the third criterion, the results were reported the same way as in the previous chapter, presenting the number of pages containing one or more of the search terms in relation to the total number of text pages. However in this case, there was no need to discount certain pages as text for being blank pages or title pages as was the case for the university textbooks. All the pages in this document were pages containing analysable text.

For the next section, analysing the themes of the information, there were again four criteria used. The first asked if the key word was defined, the second asked if any of the key words were considered as problems or an issue to be solved, whether any problems identified were considered important to solve, and if any suggestions were given to whatever problems had been identified. All of these criteria could be answered simply with "yes" and "no" responses. The exception was in the first of these four where I also recorded the key words that were used in the document. I was not expecting many of the words to be defined but recorded the words to compare which ones were there and which ones were not that I might have expected to see.

I examined the quality of the information in the final section of my analysis. This section also had three criteria. For the first criterion, I recorded which key words or themes I felt were missing from the document. In the second criterion, I asked what solutions, if any, were provided for problems that had been identified. Although there were really no problems identified, there was direction in the document on developing cultural awareness and dealing with multiculturalism, suggesting that multiculturalism or cultural pluralism is an issue with which Alberta Learning is concerned. As such, I recorded the directions given. The third criterion asked if any studies of research were given as evidence of the effectiveness of the directions given, and this was also answered as a "yes" or "no" question.

Results

Table 5.1 below presents the results of the analysis of the Alberta Learning policies document. A summary of these findings is presented following their presentation in table format.

Table 5.1: Alberta Education Document Findings

Basic Learning Policies, Regulations and Forms Manual		
Characteristics of the information	Where information occurred in text	■ Policy Requirements for Locally Developed Courses ■ Types of Schools and Programs ■ Section on Francophone education ■ Section on Second Languages ■ National And International Education ■ Native Education ■ Ministerial Orders for Teacher, Teaching Quality Standard ■ Goals and Standards for Basic Education in Alberta
	Part of text or text box	■ Text; there were no text boxes
	Space allotted to topic (number of pages allotted/number of pages of text)	■ 8/301
Themes of the information	Is any of the search terms defined? Which ones?	■ None ■ Words that appeared: language, diversity, minority, cultural, multiculturalism, socio-economic status
	Is the search term an issue, a problem to be solved?	■ No
	If a problem is identified, is it important to solve?	■ No
	Suggestions for problems identified	■ Yes

Quality of the information	What information is missing?	■ There are no definitions of any kind ■ None of the terms appear in the sections called Guidance and Counselling, Community Services dealing with services provided to children and students, or in Student Evaluation ■ Most references to language pertain to learning a second language; little discussion of role of native languages ■ Minority usually refers to French minority
	Suggested solutions, if any	■ Courses and learning resources should promote tolerance, understanding, respect for diversity ■ Creation of international student and teacher exchanges for purposes of cultural exchange ■ Allow language of instruction other than French or English ■ Teachers should be aware of student, school, parent, society variables, etc. ■ Students should be sufficient in cultural awareness to participate in global economy ■ Respect cultural diversity of Canada
	References to studies or research to support effects of suggestions?	■ No

In the *Basic Learning Policies, Regulations and Forms Manual,* the number of pages containing the search terms were few in relation to the total number of pages. Some of the subsections, however, contained a substantial presence of the search terms, such as the Ministerial orders for the teaching quality standard of teachers, compared to other subsections that contained few or none of them. A little more than half the search terms appeared in this document, although none of them were defined. As well, there was no section on conflict resolution or any kind of statement identifying any problems to be solved, and no corresponding solutions were given. However, as stated before, some directions were given to deal with some of these key words, so issues related to the key words is a concern of Alberta learning. The directions were listed as promoting tolerance, respect for diversity, and becoming culturally aware to prepare for participation within the global economy. While Alberta Learning dealt with some of the key words in relation to teachers' roles, there was no acknowledgement of these same themes in relation to services for children, the community, and in the guidelines for counselling services, the latter of which I found to be especially noteworthy.

In terms of percentage, the amount of space allotted to the search terms was exactly 12% of the pages in the document. The mean percentage of space allotted for the undergraduate textbooks examined in the previous chapter was 8.2% and with the graduate text factored in, the mean became 6.7%. Compared to the undergraduate textbooks, this document allots approximately 50% more space to these topics by percentage, and a little less than twice the mean of the university texts that included the graduate level textbook.

For this document, no z-scores were calculated. The reasons for this are two-fold. In order to calculate z-scores, there needs to be a set of different scores from which to calculate a mean and standard deviations. I calculated the z-scores for the university textbooks just to be able to compare them to each other and to make sense of the data in an orderly way. However, the main point of tabulating the amount of space allotted to the search terms in that set of text as well as in this document is to be able to compare the results from the last chapter to the results of this one. This comparison is reported in the above paragraph.

Again, I only state primary observations here since a more complete analysis of these data will be presented in chapter seven. As for the amount of space allotted to the key words, the Alberta Learning document falls within the range of the amount of space allotted in the university textbooks. The textbooks ranged from 2.7%-17.6%, and the *Basic Learning Policies, Regulations and Forms Manual* drops in around the middle of this range with its 12% of space allotted for the search terms. The range of the key words was perhaps less extensive in the *Basic Learning Policies, Regulations and Forms Manual* than it was in the university textbooks. However, it is not surprising that some of these key words were not addressed or discussed because some of the terms' existences in such a document are highly unlikely to appear, such as "accent." As well, some of the words have similar, if not the same, meaning and were used to try to cover the range of terms that might be used by different authors talking about the same idea. For example, socio-economic status is frequently used to refer to a certain group of people who attain lower incomes than the average income level; yet some writers may simply refer to this group as people from a low-income background as opposed to having a low socio-economic status. The point was to try to cover all the bases. Also, bilingualism and multilingualism did not appear anywhere in the *Basic Learning Policies, Regulations and Forms Manual*, but there were many references made to learning French or English as a second language, as well as learning languages and having the opportunity to receive school in a medium of instruction other than these two.

This chapter examined the *Basic Learning Policies, Regulations and Forms Manual*, the publication set out by Alberta Learning to instruct teachers, counsellors, and administrators in the policies and guidelines that they are supposed to follow. I first stated how I chose my text for this chapter and why and then presented my system of information collection. Following this section, I presented the results of this section of the analysis. In every section of this chapter, I attempted to relate the similarities and differences between the research methods in this chapter and the previous one, as well as make comparisons between the results shown in each chapter. The next chapter will follow a completely different method from these last two where I present the results of interviews that I have done with high school students. The analysis of text from these two chapters is compared to the information collected from these interviews, the final results of which are discussed in chapter seven.

CHAPTER 6: INTERVIEWS

In contrast to the last two sets of data, which were derived using content analysis of various text, this set of data is qualitative, based on a set of interviews conducted with high school students. The data presented so far focus on information about multiculturalism found in textbooks and educational documents at the governmental level. In this sense, these data present some of the more theoretical aspects of how multiculturalism either claims to *be* manifest in the education system or how it *should* be manifest there. By interviewing students, my goal was to try to find out what their actual experiences of multiculturalism with the schools are so as to compare these experiences to those more theoretical aspects. Before I discuss the results of the interviews, I delineate the procedure I used to conduct the interviews. This includes the reasoning behind using the particular category of students I chose and how the interviews themselves were conducted. The results themselves are organised by the order of questions I used to ask them. This order is explained later in this chapter. The students are either quoted or paraphrased, and their responses appear in paragraphs rather than the concise tables that were used in the last two chapters. As in the previous chapters, analysis of the data is reserved for chapter seven; however, there is a brief summary of the results provided.

Procedures

This section covers the reasons why I chose the particular category of students for the interviews as well as describing the interview itself.

Category of Interviewees

I considered interviewing many different kinds of students for this part of the research. My initial consideration was to interview elementary school children since the story of Joseph pertains to that age category. The main barrier in interviewing them, though, is that because their cognitive abilities are in a lesser developed stage, they may not be able to articulate well enough the kind of information in which I am interested. Also, their ability to even be reflective in a sufficiently profound way would be limited, so choosing an older group of children seemed a better idea. Junior high-aged students were eliminated as interview candidates for one of the same reasons as the elementary students in that their insights may not be as reflective as I would like. Since reflective ability was mainly what I was looking for, I considered interviewing first-year university students. However, I thought that perhaps even after a summer away from school and beginning university, or being in the middle of the school year, the students' memories may not be as fresh. I decided finally on interviewing students at the high school level since I thought they would be adequately reflective and were also experiencing the Alberta education system concurrently.

The five interviewees were found through contacts I have with different cultural communities in my city. The selection procedure was not random because I wanted to find students from different ethnic and, if possible, economic backgrounds. Specifically, students met the selection criteria if they were in grade ten, eleven, or twelve, had one (in the case of a single parent) or both parents that were immigrants to Canada, and had spent at least five years in the Alberta education system. Students' ethnic backgrounds, as a result of these criteria, ranged from all the different grades in high school, different parts of the world (the Caribbean, the Middle East, Africa, the Indian sub-continent), and different genders (two males and three females). There was one control category, which was that of a third or fourth generation Canadian. This category was chosen to compare the answers of such a student to those immigrant students or students of immigrant parents. Note that the Canadian category was not chosen under the assumption that a Canadian student would experience no discrimination, simply that the experience of such a student would contribute a valuable perspective.

Interview Process

I wanted to make the interview process as comfortable as possible. Students were given the option of meeting anywhere they felt comfortable, in their home, in my home, or somewhere else such as a coffee shop. I met three of the interviewees in their homes and two of them in mine. Since I was already familiar with all of the interviewees, there was little need for ice-breaker talk or to meet them at some time before the interview so that we were comfortable with each other. I was then able to reintroduce the topic of the interview and answer any initial questions the interviewees had before starting the interview. The whole process was quite casual; interviewees felt comfortable to stop and ask questions for clarification. Most of the interviewees were not that prolific in their responses, so the questions flowed easily from one to the next.

The questions themselves were organised in four different streams. The first one questioned students' views on discrimination. Interviewees were told that discrimination in this case was based not only on ethnic motivations but also class or economic level, gender, and the like. The second stream was concerned with students' experiences in the school, pertaining to discrimination, their preferences with the ethnic origins of their friends, what kinds of things they have learned about in school in relation to discrimination and multiculturalism, and relations between students and teachers and other staff in the school. The third stream asked a couple of miscellaneous questions about racism and discrimination in certain disciplines or social realms. The fourth stream required demographic information just to insure the varying backgrounds of students, ages, languages spoken. In total, there were twenty-one main questions with sub-questions accompanying most of them. These questions are available in more detail in Appendix A.

All of the interviews were recorded. Each of them was subsequently transcribed for quick reference. It was expected that the interviews would last for about one hour, but they only lasted about fifteen to twenty-five minutes each. I perhaps expected that the students would talk more or have more experiences to share, but this did not end up being the case, so the interviews were shorter than expected. A discussion of the interviews follows.

The Interviews

At various points throughout the interviews, the students seemed to feel like they were not giving me the information I was looking for. Indeed, sometimes, I received answers I was not expecting, but they were significant nevertheless. The results from these interviews are presented based on the way the themes of questions were divided: student demographics, student views on discrimination, and student experiences in school, and miscellaneous categories. Although the demographics were the last subject of the interview questions, they are presented first in this discussion to set up the background of the interviewees.

In a seven continent paradigm[5], four of the seven continents were represented. These continents are Africa, English-speaking North America, Asia, and South America. Language representation by first languages consisted of English, Sudanese/Egyptian, and Persian. One of the students spoke English as a first language but also spoke Urdu as a second language, which is the native language of the parents. Except for the one Canadian student, the parents of all the other interviewees were born in a country outside not only English-speaking North America, but the continent as a whole. Two of the students were born outside of Canada but have lived here in Alberta for five years or more, so everyone has gone through the Alberta education system for a minimum of that length of time. This was the information received from the demographic questions.

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[5] Certain parts of the world teach that there are five continents: America, Asia, Europe, Africa, and Oceania. The education system in Canada teaches that there are seven continents: North America, South America, Europe, Asia, Africa, Antarctica, and Australia.

This section reviews the responses of the students in relation to their thoughts and opinions on discrimination, but before continuing with further information, I would like to introduce the interviewees by the pseudonyms I have ascribed to them. These names follow along names that people from their respective countries could have. The students' names are: Reza, Karen, Aasma, Ben, and Steve. All the students had fairly different definitions of what discrimination is. Aasma believed it was "making fun of someone's cultural values and traditional values…and not taking them seriously." Reza's definition followed along the same lines, saying that it was "someone saying bad things about your race or background" and generally just being against someone because his or her background is different. Ben described discrimination as being against someone for an unjust cause, and Steve defined discrimination as prejudice. Karen was not able to come up with a definition at all, but when asked information about why discrimination might happen, she was able to answer that question. It appeared that she had a concept of discrimination that she simply could not verbalise. Ben, Reza, and Steve were also able to think of what might *not* be discrimination, which included accepting people and their cultures, equal rights, and equal opportunities. As to why discrimination happens, the majority of interviewees stated that ignorance was the main cause, people just not knowing about other people or people whose cultures are different. Karen stated that she believed that some people develop jealousy of others, which is why they discriminate, and Ben felt that people discriminate because they are bored.

The students were also asked if they think that some groups experience more discrimination than others, and if so, for which groups did they think this happened. Three of the students believed that African-Americans were definitely one of the top groups that experienced more racism than others. Ben, however, believed that African-Americans might experience more discrimination in the United States than in other parts of the world, and thought that in general, groups would experience more or less discrimination depending on the country in which they lived. Reza's answer was somewhat similar, although he stated that he felt the media had a large influence on which group was targeted for discrimination. He said that whichever group the media was targeting at the moment would be the group against which people would discriminate. Aasma added that darker people, Pakistanis, and Islamic people were victims of discrimination more after September 11,[6] and also that Jewish people experienced more discrimination. Steve also felt that skinheads or people who look like skinheads experience discrimination as well. When asked why these groups experienced more discrimination than others, the answers were somewhat similar. Karen thought that African-Americans or Africans in general experience discrimination because they are different culturally; Steve and Aasma felt the same way. Aasma felt it was because of slavery that African-Americans were discriminated against. She also believed that Jewish people faced discrimination because of the Israeli- Palestinian conflict.

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[6] Refers to the attack on the World Trade Centre in New York on September 11, 2001; also referred to as 9-11.

When asked if they had ever experienced discrimination themselves, Karen and Steve both reported that they had experienced discrimination. Karen would not elaborate on what she had experienced when prompted, so the question was not pushed, but she would say that she knew this situation occurred due to what she claimed was racism. In Steve's case, he said he faced discrimination due to his age. He said that he had been followed by store personnel when entering stores. It is a common story from teenagers that they are followed by store personnel because these employees see them as potential shoplifters. While this form of discrimination is not necessarily related to the forms of discrimination I was trying to focus on, it is nonetheless a valid form of discrimination.

The next set of questions to the students asked them about their relationships with peers, teachers, and school counsellors. All of the students except for Karen reported that their schools had quite a varied ethnic population in them. All of them, except for Ben, stated that their relationship with students from other ethnic backgrounds was quite good. Ben said that at his school, there was somewhat of a division that "it's always like white guys and brown guys." He said "you can talk to them and stuff, but you sort of …it's a little more tenser, like…joking around with him, and often one guy takes it seriously, that can happen." In Ben's case, there appears to be a division between at least some of the students based on ethnic differences, but in all other cases, there were no reports of these kinds of conflicts. Aasma claimed that "no one discriminates anywhere in our school, at least, not that I know of." Reza stated that his relationship with students from backgrounds different from his were good because "they understand now…we have equal rights…we're friends with each other…The relationship is good." Besides their peers, none of the students reported any difficulties in forming relationships with their teachers or with school counsellors.

In relation to academic success, none of the interviewees felt that their ethnic background played any significant role, either positive or negative. The only exception was Karen, who said she had difficulties at school when she first started going because of a language issue (her English was not strong enough), but she said that she overcame this difficulty quite quickly. Ben also felt that although his own ethnic background did not affect his academic performance at school, he felt that First Nations people had many advantages at school because of their ethnicity, and he felt that this was not fair.

The question was posed to the students if they feel that they discriminate against other groups and if they were willing to admit it. The girls had little to say about this question. Reza believed that he did not discriminate against anyone. Ben and Steve, however, believed that they might do it unintentionally; Ben said that one can automatically do it and Steve saying that "everyone does it without knowing it sometimes." In a related question, I asked the students if they thought they had any racialised attitudes. All but one of the students were unclear as to what this is, so I defined it for them.[7] Once defined, none of the students claimed to ascribe to any racialised attitudes. Karen said that she had some problems when she first came to Canada with the way that girls dress here. In her home country, females tend to dress more conservatively than in Canada, so when she first arrived, Karen felt that the form of dress here was disrespectful. Later, she said she came to realise that this was simply a cultural difference and came to accept it. Also, none of the students, except for Reza, believed that other students respond with racialised attitudes either. He said that other people hold certain stereotypes about specific ethnic groups being better achievers in some school subjects.

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[7] I defined racialised attitudes as beliefs that they may hold about other ethnic groups which originate from their own various ethnic backgrounds.

The final set of questions pertaining to the students' experiences with discrimination and multiculturalism at school dealt with their relationships to school counsellors specifically. None of the students had ever been to see their counsellors for anything other than academic purposes (such as choosing courses or careers), and Ben stated that the counsellor had seen him only because he was checking up on all the students. Ben thought that had been annoying. Steve was the only one that had friends who had been to see the school counsellor for reasons other than academic purposes. He said that he thought those visits had not been very helpful to his friends because the counsellor was out of touch with the students due to a generational gap. None of the students thought that school counsellors could be discriminatory, although Ben thought they could automatically assume something about someone, the same way that people unintentionally discriminate in general. Reza stated that he did not "be think that [discrimination] would affect them too much in Canada, but maybe like in the United States or somewhere else." Aasma thought that counsellors were too understanding, and when Karen was asked this question, she replied "I don't know, can they [discriminate]?"

The general consensus was that counsellors were not really affected by discriminatory practices, behaviours, or beliefs.

The last two questions belong to what I categorised simply as a miscellaneous category. I was interested to know if the students thought that the economy and racism were connected. Karen thought they might be but was "not gonna go into details for that." Ben thought they were connected and Reza thought they were not. Both Aasma and Steve could not decide if these entities were or were not connected. The other question asked if science could be racist or discriminatory. Everyone except for Steve was either quite sure or fairly sure that science was free from these characteristics; Steve thought it was a possibility.

As in the previous chapters that present data, I reserve detailed analysis for the seventh chapter, but will provide some commentary here to tie the data from this chapter together. The students' definitions of discrimination were more or less what I expected, although I was surprised to see that the majority of their definitions actually strayed away from being focused on ethnic discrimination only. The students mostly referred to behaviours directed toward people of *different* backgrounds, and not necessarily different *ethnic* backgrounds, leading one to think that they realise that discrimination can be based on categories other than race or ethnicity. In the case of Steve, most of his responses seemed to relate very little to ethnic discrimination issues and were often simply based on appearances, such as looking like a teenager or a skinhead (neither of which would be considered ethnic groups). Another noteworthy aspect of the data is the way that some of the students viewed ethnicity. Aasma, for instance, strongly associated her ethnicity with the religion Islam despite the fact that the country of her ethnic origins comprises only a small section of Islamic nations. Reza also indicated an association of being Canadian with being of "white" or European descent. He said that in his junior high school there had been mostly Canadian students, which was different from his high school where it was much more diverse.

I stated previously that there were some answers given that I did not expect. I was surprised that Karen could not define discrimination. This may have been partly due to nerves as she stated she was quite nervous at first about the interview and was just feeling a little unsure as to the direction the questions were going to take her. However, she was able to talk about discrimination after, showing, as I mentioned above, that she indeed had a concept of discrimination but could not verbalise it. Another answer I did not expect was Reza's view that discrimination is based on the influence of the media. This idea is not really something that would be discussed within the school curriculum, and in many cases, would not be discussed until the university level, so I was surprised that he was able to give what I consider a higher-level answer. Finally, Steve's disassociation with ethnic discrimination was unexpected. Despite the fact that the questions were largely directed toward ideas of racism and ethnicity, Steve's responses were uninfluenced by this.

In this chapter, I have described the results of the interviews that I conducted with high school students. Responses were based on questions, which focused on students' opinions on discrimination and racism, their experiences with the same in their school, including relations with peers and school staff, their thoughts on some miscellaneous questions, and some general demographic information. The information described here is to be examined in conjunction with the data from the last two chapters, and it was collected in order to compare actual experiences with textbook or text information. This analysis takes place in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 7: ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

Up until now, theoretical and empirical aspects of multicultural education and related issues have been presented. The focus of this chapter is on the empirical information collected and described over the last three chapters. The next chapter examines the empirical implications within the context of the theoretical framework. I stated before that the analysis of the previous three chapters would be reserved for this one. Hence, this chapter looks at the data by comparing each set of results to each other. In this chapter, there is first a summary of the findings of the data. The main points of these findings are re-stated. Following this is a discussion of these results.

Summary of the Data

The main findings from each of the prior three chapters are summarised here. These summaries are provided in the order of the chapters in which they were presented. Chapter four examined textbooks used for teacher and counselling training programs. Chapter five looked at Alberta Education policy documents, and chapter six presented the results of interviews with high school students.

Where university textbooks were analysed using content analysis, the idea was to find out how much coverage in the books was given to terms like "multiculturalism," "diversity," and the like.[8] It was found that the books provided coverage of the various search terms about 6.7% of the time, meaning that this is approximately the amount of coverage given to issues of multiculturalism and related issues in the books. Few of these search terms were ever defined. Sometimes, multicultural classrooms and diversity were viewed as problems to be solved, whereas other views of these were that diversity was an opportunity or reason to celebrate. In either case, the books generally contained much information in the 6.7% of coverage as to solutions or ways to deal with diversity in the classroom. There were suggestions to have culture fairs, and asking questions to students and their parents to find out about their cultures. It was also suggested that teachers should attempt to include parents in the classroom or school whenever possible. As well, it was recommended that teachers use culture-fair tests and be able to interpret test results using common sense when cultural barriers may be present. In the *Psychology for Teaching* book, multicultural education and multilingual education were equated. As to any references given as evidence that any of the suggestions given actually work, there were none. The exception was in the *Individual Psychological Assessment* book, which provided empirical data for some of its recommendations. Teachers and counsellors were also encouraged to become self-reflective and self-aware in order to increase their cultural sensitivity as well as be flexible and open. Besides a lack of definitions, there was also almost no discussion of social class or economically disadvantaged students. When this issue was discussed, the suggestion was to make up for what students coming from economically disadvantaged situations are not receiving at home. I asked before if textbooks were helping to prepare teachers and counsellors for the needs of school populations with varied ethnic backgrounds, and my answer is that it is still unclear to me if there is a relationship between these two factors.

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[8] Please refer to chapter four for the complete list of search terms.

Chapter five also used content analysis to find the same search terms as in the fourth chapter in a policy document published by the Government of Alberta through Alberta Education. In this document, any definitions were non-existent. There were no guidelines about multiculturalism or anything related in the section on Guidance and Counselling, Community Services, or Student Evaluation. There was no discussion of students' native languages other than in the context of talking about ESL. Almost any time minorities were mentioned, it was in the context of French-Canadian minority populations. Suggestions by Alberta Education to deal with multiculturalism were to promote tolerance, understanding, and respect for diversity. Student and teacher exchanges were encouraged. Language instruction in other languages than English and French was considered to be important. Teachers were recommended to increase their awareness of differences in students, the community, the school, parents, and society. Alberta Education also expects students to learn respect for Canada's cultural diversity and be sufficient in cultural awareness, enough so that they can participate in the global economy. I asked in a previous chapter if the information from the textbooks was consistent with Alberta Education policy guidelines. For teacher training, I believe that the information is consistent, but being that there is nothing in terms of guidelines for counsellors in relation to multiculturalism, textbook information and the policy guidelines are not consistent in that regard.

A summary of the data from the interviews is too lengthy to fit into one paragraph, so a summary of each of the three major sections (meaning that this excludes the demographical information) is provided in separate paragraphs. As for the students' thoughts on discrimination, most of them agreed that it occurs, although some felt that it was more likely to occur in other parts of the world than Canada, like toward African-Americans in the United States, for example. They also generally believed that they did not discriminate, except for two who believed that it would be possible to do it unintentionally. When asked what was not discrimination, their responses had more to do with accepting people and their culture, equal rights and equal opportunities. Causes for discrimination were believed to be boredom, ignorance, and jealousy. The students had varying beliefs as to which groups experience more racism than others, which in turn, elicited varying reasons as to why these groups were targeted. There was only one really different answer to the question of which groups experienced more discrimination, which was that the media controlled who would be targeted, so the same cause would persist for any group that was experiencing discrimination.

There were questions about the students' relationships with school staff and peers as well as their performance in school subjects. Four of the students had varying ethnic populations in their schools, while only one of the students described unrest in the school due to ethnic differences. In general, there were no other reports of ethnic differences, and one student even stated that she thought no one discriminates in her school at all. There were also no problems reported in relationships between school counsellors and students or teachers and students. Only one student thought that the relationship was not very good between the counsellors and students, and this was not for ethnic reasons, simply that he believed there was a generational gap between the two groups. All of the students felt that the counsellors would not discriminate, unless it was done unintentionally. As for their achievement in school, the students generally felt they had neither problems nor advantages because of their ethnic origins. As well, when asked if they thought other students discriminate, they generally agreed that this was the case, or at least that many people they know hold a lot of prejudices based on stereotypes of different groups, whether positive or negative.

The miscellaneous category was the final category before the demographical information section. The students were asked if they thought that racism and the economy were connected and if they thought that science could be racist or discriminatory. Some of the students thought it was possible that racism and the economy were connected. Everyone but Steve, who could not make up his mind about the answer, expressly stated no, that science could not be racist or discriminatory.

These summaries provided the major points of the findings of each of three sets of data. To integrate this information for comparative purposes, I now turn to the next section.

Comparison of the Data

This section comprises analysis of the data. The summaries provided an overview of all the data, and these are now contrasted and compared. For this analysis, I pose the questions, is multiculturalism in the education system being practiced the way it claims to do so, and are the effects being produced as the system either believes them to be or wants them to be? Commentaries on the data are given as well as a comparison between them.

The questions I have just asked do not only pertain to students in primary and secondary school, but also to those are being trained to be teachers and school counsellors. The textbooks that were examined mostly provided superficial methods of treating multiculturalism in the schools at best. Some of the suggestions about trying to use culture-fair tests and interpret them with common sense were good suggestions. Two questions that remain unanswered from this, though, since the answers are unknown, are if there is such a thing as a culture-fair test designed yet, and how does one measure any teacher or counsellor's common sense? The textbook *Individual Psychological Assessment* probably provided the most comprehensive coverage of dealing with students from other backgrounds, ethnic and socioeconomic, and for the most part, the way these issues were dealt with seemed quite adequate. What was strange, though, was to suggest that counsellors try to make up for what children are not receiving at home. Not only is the teacher cast in the role of the parent these days, but it appears that the counsellor must take on this role as well. While it cannot be expected that every child come from a perfect, functional home life, is it fair to try to expect those in the school to make up for this deficiency? If it is fair, the school would have to be properly subsidized, whether financially or through adequate training, to meet this need. Some of the other suggestions were to have counsellors or teachers ask students about their cultures or to ask their parents about it. From the answers of the students that were interviewed, this is not something that occurred very often. The most common suggestion in the textbooks was to have a multicultural day or multicultural fair. The students' answers confirmed that this was indeed a popular practice as well. The criticism of these kinds of events is old but still relevant, being that events such as these are generally quite superficial. How much is one able to understand the philosophy, values, and more profound aspects of another culture simply by eating the food, seeing the clothing, and watching the dances from different cultures? Beyond all this, there was no evidence provided as to the efficacy of any of these suggestions. Are there any studies that show that having multicultural days actually does increase tolerance and respect for other cultures? I might have to make a more concentrated effort than what my research already revealed in order to find such studies. Those that believe that there are still income differences based on ethnic and class differences, where class differences are sometimes contingent on ethnicity (Guppy & Davies, 1998; Lian & Matthews, 1998) and the knowledge that racism continues to exist, especially after September 11, as some of the students pointed out, provide evidence to the contrary of the goals of suggestions such as multicultural fairs.

In continuing with the theme of respect and tolerance for other cultures, the Alberta Education guidelines specifically state that it is a mandate for the education system to produce these in children, as well as understanding of other cultures. The criticism of using the word tolerance in itself is that it teaches people only to silence their prejudices, to put up with people with different beliefs and cultures, and possibly refrain from their discriminatory practices but does not "unlearn" the prejudiced or racist attitudes they may have. Despite this criticism, for the sake of argument, I assume that tolerance is more productive than I believe it to be. I did not look at Alberta Education policies historically, but I do assume that tolerance of, respect for, and understanding of other cultures is not a new concept in the education system if Canada's Multiculturalism Act has been around for just over thirty years now. Promoting tolerance and respect, in conjunction with the suggestions given by various textbooks in teacher and counsellor training programs, should have by now produced a change in at least one generation since that time. Moreover, it is not that Canadian children do not have the opportunity to go to school, thereby missing out on the interaction with students of other backgrounds and the instruction as to the goals of teaching multiculturalism in school. Some students may not have the chance to go to school here, but the majority do. Yet, while most of the students interviewed claimed not to discriminate and that it did not happen in their schools, Ben reported that there was a divide between students of Indo-Pakistani origin and "white" students. It seems unlikely that all the students that failed to learn the tenets of multiculturalism went to Ben's school only, so the problem must be more widespread than the other interviewees believe it to be.

Beyond the questionable results of promoting tolerance, respect, and understanding is the questions of where the guidelines exist that tell teachers *how* to teach tolerance and respect. The textbooks and policy guidelines suggest that it should be taught, but there is no real instruction on how to do it, other than having multicultural days and including the students' cultures in the classroom. None of the students have reported any teacher that tried to include the culture of any student in the classroom so far. As for multicultural days, they may tend to highlight the differences between students more than anything. As well, these kinds of celebrations allow students to observe the superficial aspects of various cultures participate in those cultures only by eating the food, watching the dances, and seeing the dress of other cultures. These are the surface aspects of cultures, which may open a door to find out the philosophies and values of a culture, but it is left to the students to do this, to ask questions of other students to find these things out, and there is no guarantee that students will do this. Students may be shy, lazy, or they may simply be uninterested or indifferent. Another point that is noteworthy is the role that the senses may play in preventing students from learning about different cultures. The eyes not only see skin colour and clothing, but people and food sometimes have a particular smell associated with them, and this may be odious to the one sensing these. When people are opposed not only to the appearance, but also to the scent of someone or their food, they sometimes become adverse to the people themselves because they "cannot stand the smell of those people." In this case, the difficulty becomes removing this barrier to creating an attitude of respect, tolerance, and understanding.

Another question that arises concerns the counsellors. There was no reference to the role of school counsellors in multiculturalism. Herring and White (1995) seemed to believe that the school counsellor played a significant role in promoting multiculturalism in the school, yet Alberta Education guidelines do not refer to this idea. Perhaps it is because these kinds of guidelines are stated somewhat by different psychological associations, such as the American Psychological Association, to which many counsellors belong, so the education system relies on those guidelines. Yet, if the counsellors are separated from the psychological community by working in the schools, who is it that keeps them accountable? This is a question that could be studied for further research, since I was only able to concentrate mostly on teachers in this study.

One final question still exists regarding all the text that was studied is in relation to the fact that only about 7% of the text covered topics of multiculturalism and related issues. This question is, while Canadians have difficulty defining themselves, if there is one thing that Canada defines itself as, other than not American, it is that it is a multicultural country, so why is the topic of multiculturalism covered so relatively little in all the text? The answer may lie in the notion of objectivity in pedagogy. By this, I mean that teachers are normally expected to refrain from exhibiting their political or religious leanings in the classroom, and this may be affected by the political nature of multiculturalism in Canada. When doing a literature search for topics relating to multiculturalism in the classroom, the majority of publications I came across were ones relating more to political science and politics in general. It was difficult to find information relating psychology or sociology to multiculturalism. This was one of the reasons why much of the material I used for the literature review ended up being from the United States, simply because I could find more relating multiculturalism to its psychological or societal effects on students. The reasoning here is that if multiculturalism is a political topic and nothing else, then it might be why the topic is not found or is little found amongst literature for education students. It is as though the writers of such literature think that education is not politicised. Another possible answer to my question above is that perhaps multiculturalism is not seen as an important topic to discuss because what multiculturalism is, if it can be considered as a certain mentality or even way of life, is already thought to be embedded in the mindsets of Canadians because they grow up with it. Thus, it is the subconscious effect of society on the individual that allows them already to be instilled with the values and skills of a member of a multicultural country. This would explain why those students that were not born here and that perhaps lived some part of their lives in their native country experience problems when they meet with the education system—at least in Alberta. They would not carry the skills and values associated with multiculturalism that their Canadian-born counterparts would be assumed to have, and this would disadvantage them within the system. However, being that Alberta Education sets forth distinct and clear statements about teaching students tolerance, respect, and understanding, I think that my second possible answer is likely not the best explanation.

Returning to the idea of respect and tolerance, the students' definitions of discrimination were interesting in that the concepts they had spoke nothing of tolerance and respect. Respect was perhaps part of their definitions, but they were more focused on accepting other people and their different backgrounds. Another observation was that, despite the fact that the questions were leading mostly toward discrimination based on ethnicity, the students' definitions also did not speak to ethnic discrimination. When they defined discrimination, they referred only to prejudices and nefarious attitudes toward people whose backgrounds were simply different from others and not different based on ethnic categories. When they defined what was not discrimination, these definitions played more into the rhetoric of equal opportunity and equal rights, which Taylor (1994) recognises as the politics of equal recognition, and something that democracy has ushered in.

Among the main causes the students ascribed to discrimination were ignorance and boredom. Not that I was necessarily expecting students to say that competition was a cause, but none of them mentioned it. Farnen (1994) seems to think that competition is an important factor wherever discrimination exists. Ignorance can play into this in the sense that where there is competition and different ethnic groups co-existing, people's ignorance can cause them to think that some group, such as Jewish people, African-Americans, or any other ethnic or religious group may be trying to take over (Wilden, 1980), so they develop certain attitudes about those groups. Since competition is fostered in the school system, it is not surprising, then, that discrimination may exist there for these reasons.

An interesting belief that that was held by some of the interviewees was the idea that Canadians discriminate less than do other countries. Ben, for instance, believed that African-Americans might experience more discrimination in the United States than they would in Canada. Reza also had the belief that school counsellors might be more discriminatory in other countries than they would be in Canada. Yet if discrimination exists at all in Canada, then it is likely that it permeates all professions, sub-cultures, and various aspects of Canadian life. One would have to compare various statistics to show the amount of discrimination that exists in different countries, but if the vertical mosaic still exists in some form, whether or not the original form, then discrimination may be manifest differently in Canada than it is in other countries, and must therefore be measured with different criteria.

The previous section has provided an examination of the data by presenting analysis of all the data within each set of data and the data in comparison to each other. There are errors of logic within the text data as well as some of these data's assumptions being questionable when compared to the reality of what students think and what they face at school. Beyond the analysis of the data themselves, what are their theoretical implications? This is the topic of the next section.

The Data Within the Theory

In the last three chapters and the majority of this one, there has been a focus on the data that were collected. The chapters preceding these ones discussed the theoretical background to this research. But what is the relationship between these two sections, or in other words, do the theoretically prescribed ideologies and its goals match the descriptive findings from the data? How much of it matches? If it does match, does this prescription meet its goals? If it does not match, why does it not? Finally, if it does not meet its goals, why is that? The answers to these questions are discussed within the context of liberal ideology and are analysed within my own framework of symbolic interactionism and critical theory.

The majority of the information that was found in the textbooks and in the education policies of Alberta, which I refer to as the learning system, match liberal notions of multiculturalism. There is much evidence of this. One of these ideas is the concurring ideas of respect, understanding, and tolerance. These are ideas promoted by both liberalism and the learning system in Alberta. Another idea is that of providing students with human ~~and~~ cultural capital. Chapter two described how one of the goals of liberalism is to provide future generations with the technical skills required to meet the demands of the market. While the focus here is on technology, logically one could argue that cultural knowledge or cross-cultural skills are a kind of technology as well, or are treated as such, and one of the mandates of Alberta Education is to provide students with the skills to function in a world that is becoming increasingly globalised. In this sense, the learning system wants future generations to gain adequate skills to function in the global economy. From the interviews, the influence of liberal ideology is apparent in the ideas the students had about what discrimination was not, which for many of them, meant equal opportunity and equality. What are the implications of these connections? As so often appears to be the case, conflict within a set of ideas, in this case, liberal ideas, implies inconsistency of thought leading to the wrong means to meet the right end. The following provides an explanation of this thought.

The notions found in liberalism that are discussed above are well-meaning values, but the main problem lies in that these values are in conflict with one another. Taylor (1994) points out that one of the main drives in the modern notions of identity found within multiculturalism discourse is what he terms the politics of difference. Indeed, the idea of difference appears to be strong as multiculturalism seeks to celebrate the differences of each person's identity, including his or her ethnic identity. Museum approaches to multiculturalism in the school are prime examples of highlighting the differences between people's cultures, and this is on the superficial level. At its more profound level, the history, philosophy, politics, and value system of cultures is ignored (Ghosh & Tarrow, 1995); if not ignored, although it may serve to increase awareness of the differences between cultures, it also provides a deeper insight as to why someone's culture is the way it is, thereby encouraging the understanding that liberal multiculturalism wants to promote.

Providing students with the technological or cultural tools to help them function in the global economy presents the same problem as was mentioned in chapter two when discussing cultural capital and human capital. This problem is that every student may not have access to these tools for various reasons. In Bourdieu (1977) and Bernstein's (1977) views, it is only the people that have the economic ability to access these tools, and may also have grown up in a context that sets up greater obstacles for some people to access the tools than others. An example would be a student's first language being different from the dominant language. If the student does not understand the way the tools are given because he or she cannot understand the language of instruction, then this student loses the opportunity to access the tools, thereby missing out on the attempt to provide an equal opportunity to learn to effectively participate in the global market.

The idea of providing equal opportunity for all becomes the next problem. Liberals would have one think that equal opportunity is a non-discriminatory practice, a philosophy which was evident in the students that were interviewed. By the use of the word equal, many people would be lead to think that equity was at play, meaning that everyone was treated fairly and justly. Yet equal opportunity only claims to provide everyone with the same opportunity for something without a guarantee that everyone will achieve that goal. It is like an event where there is a contest such as a bake-off, a contest where everyone is supposed to bake an apple pie and the best one wins. The rules of the bake-off are that everyone receives the same recipe and are told to buy their ingredients and cook the pies in their homes. Technically, with the same recipe, everyone would have an equal chance to win the contest because the same recipe should produce the same pie. It turns out, though, that the instructions were in English, so that eliminated the people who could not speak English or perhaps did not know it very well. Of the contestants still remaining, one of them could not afford to have a stove, and could therefore not cook the pie. One contestant broke his egg-beater and could not beat his butter into the fluffy consistency he needed for a flaky crust. Some of the contestants lived in an area where some of the ingredients were not available, so they were not able to make the pie according to the recipe, and then there were others who were able to afford to import the best apples in the world for the contest. Suddenly, the contest becomes very biased. Only the people who know English well and can afford to buy all the ingredients as well as having working appliances for the contest are actually able to compete for the prize. The method for everyone is what is equal, but without the adequate tools, the equality of opportunity for everyone is non-existent. This is what happens with equality of opportunity for different ethnic groups or people from different socio-economic categories. Gaining the tools, in this case through the education system, may be possible for everyone, but there are many factors affecting their ability to receive these tools, which cancels out equal opportunities. Within a class framework, those from the dominant class would be able to receive the tools because the method of disseminating them comes from the same class, according to Bourdieu (1977). For this reason, equity rarely occurs.

In more formal terms, the above allegory exemplifies the distinction between formal and substantive equality. The notion of equality serves to function more as a rhetorical strategy for legitimising liberal practices rather than practices which are based on empirical reality. In even simpler terms, the distinction lies between what is possible and what is plausible. On the one hand, liberal practices are based on liberal ideology, an appropriate relationship; however, the ideology is based on a normative set of beliefs and assumptions about the world of the education system and the role of multiculturalism in it (in more general terms, beliefs and assumptions about the world). Within this set of ideas, there is conflict. On the other hand, positivistic viewpoints are mostly theoretical in nature, not often translated into the pragmatic, and are frequently based on empirical realities. Pedagogical practice must take from both camps, which end up in conflict with each other if they are not working in conjunction with one another, so whichever ideology happens to be the dominant one in society at the time, that is the one with the most significant impact to pedagogy. Presently, liberal ideology is the dominant one, and it is the inherent conflict with equality within this viewpoint that is in question.

It is this conflict that leads to the discussion of another problem with equality of opportunity, also meaning that equity will not occur, in that it is incompatible, if not inconsistent, with general liberal ideology. Dei (2002) critiques the liberal standpoint on multicultural education by saying that "While liberal discourse about the nature of society emphasizes individual rights and equality, there is no corresponding emphasis on collective responsibilities of citizens, the nation state and global community that will ensure that everyone has access to the valued goods, resources and tools needed to function effectively as members of society" (p. 123). Liberalism promotes stratification as a necessary ingredient for society. It also values the practice of competition. These two ideas cannot support equality of opportunity. If stratification in society exists, whether in socio-economic terms or not, equal opportunities cannot exist because stratification necessitates some people or groups being lower in status than others, whether socio-economically speaking or otherwise. If the goal of multiculturalism is to provide everyone with the tools for participating in the global economy, some groups will have to strive from further away depending on how many factors are in their favour for reaching the goal. A similar result occurs with competition. Whenever there is a competition, there are always winners and losers. There are also areas in between, such as runner up or second last place. In any case, this competition only serves to create the social stratification that liberalism claims is necessary, which I have just reasoned is incompatible with equal opportunities.

On a similar note, there is the idea that comes from social psychology and symbolic interactionism in that when two groups come into conflict, they compete for resources. If the conflict is institutionalised, accommodation occurs and then assimilation to the dominant group (refer to chapter two for more details on this subject). If this process is true, then the case for liberal definitions of multiculturalism is faulty. The argument is the following: the goal of multiculturalism is to teach respect, tolerance, and understanding of other cultures; while respect, tolerance, and understanding is occurring, multiculturalism must concomitantly promote the recognition of difference within individuals and cultures. Within all of this, competition and stratification must also occur as well as providing equal opportunity, so understanding of other cultures should include understanding why some are more dominant than others and acknowledging everyone for who they are as cultural beings while believing at the same time that everyone has equal opportunities to achieve all the goals of multicultural tenets. This seems to be a very confounded argument, especially in light of evidence that equal opportunities may not exist as well as tolerance, respect, and understanding not being sufficient to help people recognise the differences in others, let alone the similarities.

The main point from these findings is that the liberal idea of multiculturalism is flawed. The methods, the goals, and the framework are either flawed or are in conflict with each other and are therefore incompatible. While no system is perfect, or perhaps even ideal, there must be some way to resolve these conflicts (minimally, at least) or come up with a better solution. This is the focus of part of the final chapter.

CHAPTER 8: FINAL CONCLUSIONS AND BEYOND

The last chapter concentrated on analysing the data from chapters four to six. The data were summarised and then analysed individually. These data were then compared with each other. The chapter concluded by extrapolating the argument that liberal notions of multiculturalism within the education system are internally inconsistent and therefore flawed.

So what can be concluded from this research? Previous chapters identified the theoretical background for multicultural education, theories of multiculturalism as they manifest themselves in teacher and counsellor training programs as well as education policy in Alberta, and how multiculturalism theory compares to the experiences of a group of high school students. The focus here is on answering some broader questions and addresses issues laid out at the beginning of this thesis. This chapter is divided into three main parts: conclusions and reflections, answers to questions posed throughout the thesis, and suggestions for further research. It argues that the learning system and system of social recognition are necessarily in conflict with one another because this conflict is requisite of liberal goals.

A Question of Rhetoric and Reality

At the beginning, I asked if the social, political, and economic factors influencing liberalism's multicultural rhetoric (that of promoting tolerance, respect, and understanding) are in conflict with each other? The simplest answer to this question might appear to be yes, these factors are in conflict. The goals of the education system within the context of multiculturalism can be divided in three ways. The political factor in multicultural education is the idea of promoting multiculturalism itself, the skills and cultural and human capital that the state wants everyone to learn about through the education system. One of the main purposes for this approach is influenced by the economic factor in that students are supposed to be prepared to participate in and meet the demands of the global economy. The social factor in multicultural education relates to the politics of socio-cultural recognition, the idea of recognising everyone for who they are as people from different ethnicities, genders, socio-economic classes, and other socially defined categories. It is these first two categories that, according to the thesis statement, were meant to be compared with the third category, the system of social stratification. Yet is this learning system really in conflict with the system of social recognition? The answer to this is no. Three main reasons are inherent conflict in the goals of the learning system, lack of awareness on the part of students, and the way social recognition is characterised in Canada.

The first main reason that social, economic, and political factors are in conflict with each other is due to the internal inconsistency of the goals of the learning system, promoting multiculturalism to help future generations participate in the global economy. The idea of multiculturalism is to equip students with the skills necessary to be successful as participants in the economy on a global scale, while promoting the cultural tools of respect, tolerance, and understanding of cultures that are different from their own.

Supposedly, while these values are taking place, people from all different backgrounds are being given equal opportunities to participate in the global market with an equal chance of success; however, there is an assumption that those who are learning these skills come with all the prerequisites necessary to facilitate the acquisition of these tools. If it is generally true that the dominant cultural group in society has the power to use these tools, then it is unlikely that those who do not come from this same group will be able to receive the tools necessarily because these groups have different backgrounds to begin with. In this case, those who are not from the dominant group do not gain the cultural capital to function in the global economy, and the goal of the learning system has not been met. Furthermore, one of the purposes of promoting respect, tolerance, and understanding is to decrease tension, prejudice, and potentially violent behaviour between people of different backgrounds, but because competition is also encouraged in the liberal tradition, scapegoating begins when someone else can be blamed for social ills. People with different ethnicities and decreased economic power are frequently the most obvious choice because they are often visibly different or somehow have pronounced recognition in society. When there is competition, there must be a winner and a loser, which also does not help the education system to meet its goals.

The second problem with the goals of the learning system is that children are not gaining the goals because they are not aware that they are not gaining them. Previously, I stated that the importance of cultural capital lies in how it is a concealed form of domination. Indeed, Breton (1999) speaks to the way that symbolic goods are negotiated in everyday life, but that the "symbolic system can also be more or less deliberately constructed and promoted by social and institutional elites since they control, directly or indirectly, the means of symbolic production and diffusion in the collectivity" (p. 295), and he includes school curricula in this. Students are apparently taught multiculturalism at school, generally on a superficial basis to begin with, but are not taught the subtleties in how discrimination may work. At least some students are certainly not taught to question the fact that the system might be biased or to be more aware of what is happening around them. An example of this point is how some of the students did not believe that discrimination exists in their schools and how they did not think that school counsellors could discriminate.

This oblivious attitude to multiple forms of discrimination flies in the face of much research (Codjoe, 2001; Bruno-Jofre & Henley, 2000; Hyman & Vu, 2000; Morton, 2000; Goldstein, 1998). The students also thought that science could not be racist or discriminatory, yet as Lewontin (1991) shows, science is just as guided by culture, economy, and politics just as much as many other disciplines are, therefore putting into question the objectivity science claims to have. It is the power relations within the system which seems to be, at least in part, responsible for this.

The third and final reason for the various factors in the learning system not meeting its goals are that they *are* consistent with the way that Canadian society seems to be characterised by its system of social recognition. If Guppy and Davies (1998) and Lian and Matthews (1998) are right, then there is still discrimination in Canadian society, segregation, and income inequalities based on ethnicity (and the often related category of class). If this kind of discrimination still exists, then it is the desired result of the liberal philosophy behind the education system, that social stratification must exist, which as I said before, is not consistent with equal opportunities or equity.

If the goals of multiculturalism in education have not been met, what must occur to bring about some kind of effective change? Some suggestions may be easier to bring into fruition than others. The principal task is to view the school not so much as a place where students are given the tools to function within the confines[9] of society, which is all that the liberal position views it as, but to view school as a venue for social change where students learn the tools to change societal ills. In other words, school must be recognised for its capability to, or its inherent propensity toward being, a part of life which is both regulatory and constitutive of it. Moreover, in order to prevent the faulty assumption that the liberal standpoint takes, where everyone comes pre-designed to be receptive to any tools, school as a venue for social change would provide skills that students needed in order to gain the tools that the system would want them to learn. Dei (1996) believes that "We should begin to ask, what is in this educational initiative/approach for different groups who continue to exist on the margins of the school system despite the good intentions of inclusivity?" (p. 81). Within this framework, a more encompassing definition of multiculturalism would need to result, as Herring and White (1995) suggest, one that perhaps includes teaching students deeper aspects about culture, accepting others for who they are and not in spite of what they are, and one that is not necessarily focused on preparing future generations to participate in the global *economy*, but in the global *society* as the world continuously shrinks.

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[9] I use the term "confine" cautiously, as some might argue that society can never be confining, offering only limitless possibilities.

Besides changing the definition of multiculturalism itself, some of its goals must also change. In the past, the view has been to improve educational outcomes for students from different backgrounds. However, Lian and Matthews (1998) and Guppy and Davies (1998) show that educational outcomes have become less of an issue than after schooling completes. They say that despite the fact that students from ethnic origins other than those of Canada's founding nations (excluding First Nations) have been able to achieve educational outcomes that surpass those students from French or British origin, their outcomes after schooling completes do not correspond with their educational achievement. Their income attainment still seems to correspond with ethnic origin rather than educational qualifications. So, one of the goals of multicultural education could be to create awareness of this situation in the general political economy so that it begins to stop happening in the future. Improving outcomes after the completion of schooling could be considered as a non-academic outcome in the sense that the educational system seeks not only to teach academic subjects, but also non-academic aspects such as social skills and self-esteem. Both academic and non-academic facets to education are equally as important, especially if the goal of multicultural education as it stands is supposed to prepare students to participate in the global economy. Cross-cultural skills, knowledge of more than just the native language, and an understanding of how the economies of other countries work in relation to their historical, political, philosophical, and social contexts should be knowledge and skills gained within the educational system. Moreover, raising students' self-esteem and giving them confidence in these areas seems like it should be a primary focus, but do multicultural days, teaching students about discrimination (when it actually happens), and asking students or their parents about their cultures really help to foster these kinds of skills? Also, when a teacher like the one Joseph had, who did not respond to the situation that concerned him where his classmates were calling him names, acts in way previously described, does this kind of behaviour model what the result of multicultural education should be or does it more reflect reality? I believe the answers to these questions are negative and underscore the inadequacies of the way multiculturalism has been taught and learned in the education system. Thus, in improving educational outcomes, the goal could be to improve both academic and non-academic skills.

A more immediate change to teacher and counsellor training programs could be made in the way their course schedules are structured. Education students at the University of Alberta generally have a set of core courses laid out for them that they must take, with little room for options. In one of these core courses, it could be possible to require all the students to take a class in another discipline such as anthropology, which takes a more in depth look at culture and the role of a participant-observer (in the case of anthropology, this is the anthropologist, but a teacher could take on the same role since he or she is a participant-observer of a kind). The ideal might be to have a class specially designed for teachers, but this might not be as cost-effective.

If the above suggestions could ever take place, what would be required to put them into action? There are three main requirements that I believe would need to happen, two that would be required on the part of the school and one on the part of society at large. The first one would be money, which usually seems to be a requirement of most programs to take place. The money would be needed because changes in textbooks would need to be made. As well, members of organisations that promote cultural awareness and workshops could be hired either as consultants or to give workshops to teachers, students, administrators, and perhaps even educational ministers. The second requirement would be time. Since new policies and curricula would need to be developed, those responsible for such changes would need to spend time doing this. The main requirement of all this is the responsibility of society at large, which would be to involve themselves in a paradigm shift. This paradigm shift entails either a change in the liberal viewpoint or a change *from* the liberal viewpoint to one that is more holistic and egalitarian, such as critical views found in Marxian and Freirian theory. These theories are detailed in the section that follows. Furthermore, the community's ideas of what multicultural education is and should be would need to change based on this ideological change as well as those of the government and hegemonic powers.

The feasibility of these suggestions is certainly at issue. The most feasible of all the above suggestions is time, because there are usually people who are paid to monitor and bring about change to policies and curricula when necessary. As for money, it is usually a problem to find enough for anything that needs to be done. With the cuts in spending in the education system that have been made in the province of Alberta within the past few years, it seems unlikely that money for such changes in the system could be made, but perhaps money could be re-allocated. Still, the least feasible of all seems to be a paradigm shift. If the liberal position remains, it necessarily maintains stratification in society, since that is something that liberalism states must be present in society. Stratification normally serves the upper echelons in such a system, and they are normally not interested in bringing about any change to the system since it would compromise their position of power and authority. Some kind of revolution would have to take place—a revolution in thought and practice.

The Influences of Marx and Freire

Marxian and Freirian schools of thought view the school as a means to different goals than those set out by liberals. Marxian thinkers, for instance, support systems that "[do] away with schools that function as instruments of selection for hierarchical social positions, and consequently also [do] away with schools as a "separate body." This would require a radical reorganization of two functions, *education* and *transmission of knowledge*, which are necessary for every society and which hitherto have been fulfilled by schools" (Rossanda, Cini, & Berlinguer, 1977, p. 653, italics in original). One of the ideas that these authors suggest, that of schools functioning as instruments of selection for hierarchical positions, is in direct opposition to the liberal view that social stratification is a necessary feature of society. If liberalism cannot be completely dispensed with, and I am not suggesting that it necessarily should be, then this aspect of the liberal viewpoint would need to be re-evaluated in order to achieve the goal of having schools contribute to equity in society. The other main idea proposed by these authors is the idea that education and the transmission of knowledge be viewed in a different light, one that perhaps does not see schools as the sole source of education and the transmission of knowledge. This again calls for society at large to take responsibility in contributing to educating and transmitting knowledge.

Freirian thinkers also support societal change to facilitate changes in the school system by suggesting the "fundamental necessity to change the economic and political structure before the system of public schooling can be changed" (Carnoy, 1974, p. 361). Furthermore, if the masses demand change, then Carnoy (1974) believed that their demands cannot be completely ignored, and thus, it will be necessary for those in control to meet their demands at least some of the time. Those who are more conscientious and aware than others can contribute to the process of reform, which may finally lead to liberation (of the masses under the rule of whatever hegemonic ideology exists). Carnoy (1974) states that Freire's belief was that education should make people, including children, politically aware, especially those that are oppressed, in order to change social relations in production and "demystifying institutions so that children as people can begin controlling them and using those institutions for purposes that suit them, not a small group of colonisers" (p. 367). This idea is completely opposite to the idea of adults using schools to fulfil their own agendas for children. I am not sure that I am acquainted well enough with the development of children's maturity in order to comment on their ability to comprehend the *idea* of controlling institutions, let alone the *actual* control of institutions; however the idea of having children contribute to and use institutions for their benefit is a thought-provoking one.

If children could actually use institutions for their own benefit rather than the benefit of someone else or a group of people, there might actually be more learning going on in schools than just using them as a place to gear pre-adults for the labour market, globally or otherwise. Many schools these days have become places of business and not places of learning, which appears to be the case at least in Alberta if nowhere else. Budget cutbacks by governments that subsidise schooling have not helped schools to focus less on business aspects, but the mentality is that school is only a means to obtain well-paying jobs or prestigious employment. There is little, if any, idea left of going to school to learn simply for the sake of learning. Scholarship is shrouded in research grants, public opinion, acceptance, admiration, and marketable opportunities. Education and learning are commoditised, becoming products to buy and sell, and the promise here is that the more expensive the product is, the better the quality of the product. If there is no promise that the return on the investment will be profitable, then why learn at all? Within this market, children as students buy products (or their parents buy products for them) in order to become productive themselves. Students then become products to sell, and in turn, contribute to raising a new generation of products. It is within this system that people not only buy and sell products all our lives, but people themselves become products to be bought and sold. There are no scholars, thinkers, philosophers, or even conscientious citizens contributing to the world in which they live, only labourers with a product, themselves, to be bought and sold. Without the influence of the market mentality in the lives of children, would they use schools as factories for the production of goods, symbolic and concrete? I think they would not.

In coming to conclusions about this research, I must also revisit the story of Joseph. I once asked if tolerance and understanding in his classmates and school authorities would have made any difference to his experience. In truth, I am not sure. There is little that I can truly conclude about what happened to him in the sense that because his experience was that of just one person, the sample population is not large enough to make valid or reliable conclusions about the education system. He was my reason for beginning this research, and I believe that his experience is the result of an education system with practices that benefit only those that are able to benefit the most from it. The system is one operated by the dominant ideology, governed by the dominant class in society who are people with economic power, being that they were able to achieve levels of education high enough to attain their positions where they maintain or increase that economic power. Those who can receive the most benefits from a system where dominant ideas and people exist are students from their same background, since they are adequately predisposed to absorbing what all the students are supposed to be learning. Although Joseph's case was just one that I knew about, if the system is as inequitable as it is, then I cannot believe that he was the only one negatively affected by it.

Remaining Questions: The Answered and the Unanswerable

Throughout this study, I have asked several questions along the way. Some were rhetorical, some have already been answered, some still need to be answered, and some may not have one, needing to be addressed by future research. The questions that I have not addressed so far have been avoided, I believe, because they require reflective and possibly opinionated responses about what schools have been and should be doing and have not had a space to present themselves until now. Here, I restate the questions and deal with them according to the order in which they appeared throughout the chapters.

Do racism and discrimination exist within school among students or from a systemic level? I have perhaps alluded to the answer to this question, but I will state the answer here more directly. That even one of the interviewees, Karen, experienced ethnic discrimination at one point in her school career supports the fact that discrimination must exist among students, even if it is not prevalent. However, I believe that discrimination also exists at the systemic level because it must, because liberal ideology says it must in order to succeed in its functions. There are textbooks that give inadequate help to aspiring teachers and perhaps school counsellors based on a definition of multiculturalism that itself cannot result in equity because its tenets better foster liberal notions of stratification than equity.

I then ask myself if functionalism qua liberalism is the ideal ideology for the education system. If there were no hypocrisy, then perhaps the answer would be yes. What happens is that people are trained into thinking that liberal ideology (and as it is manifest in multicultural rhetoric) will provide equal opportunities for everyone without realising that this is not the same as equity. Masked by popular belief, liberalism is left to operate in whatever way it needs to in order to accomplish its goals. It can say one thing and do another, or have people believe one thing and do another. In either case, it works to the advantage of this philosophy.

However, despite being left to its own processes, does liberalism succeed in its goal of producing human and cultural capital for Canadian society or even the global market? To me, the joke is liberal ideology here because if discrimination still exists within the schools, whether at the student body level or the systemic level, then it cannot meet its goals of producing at least cultural capital. Human capital may still be produced since cultural tools and awareness may not be necessary to participate in the global economy, but if these are desired tools for the global market, then liberalism fails in its goal to produce cultural capital. Understanding of other cultures and respect has not been taught where there are still discriminatory practices based on ethnicity, so individuals continuing in these practices have not learned properly from the liberal system. The reasons for not having learned these have already been examined in my discussion of substantive and formal equality.

I next wonder, then, if schools should be preparing students to face the realities of society or the ideal of the way society should be. I think that both can be taught in the school. Students can learn about what society should be based on what society really is. That is where the school becomes the venue for social change. It does not have to be a system where students learn rebellion, how to start revolutions, and the like, simply a way of learning how to create justice and equity when there is none. In relation to this question, Dei (2002) writes that "At the institutional level, inclusion [in education] reflects a commitment to engaging in anti-racist and anti-sexist policies and practices (i. e., curriculum, hiring, and other). Inclusive schooling involves a transformation of the educational system into a system that respects individual differences, as well as collective and historical experiences. An inclusive system should equip adolescents to deal with the proliferation of social, political, economic, cultural, and spiritual interests, as well as the consequent tensions in a transnational community" (p. 63). Key points in the statement support teaching students about and preparing them for the "real" world. Dei (2002) also mentions the idea of schools respecting the collective historical experiences of students, which in order to do, it would be necessary to know what those experiences are, and this is possibly the more in-depth type of cultural recognition that would be more useful than just cultural days that celebrate superficial aspects of students' cultures.

It is the role of the government, in the case of Canada, the provincial governments, to turn to a curriculum to help foster such changes. Dei (2002) suggests that "in a society with a population that is racially, culturally, and regionally diverse and purports to be democratic, those in a position to develop and apply policies and practices have the responsibility not of naming those who are different, but of seeking to understand their everyday lived social and cultural reality. This is essential in order to work collectively to ensure that our structures and institutions can better reflect and serve the needs of Canada's diverse population" (p. 65). Even now, what are those in positions of power doing to combat the fact that some students are not only open to discrimination from peers but also from teachers, administrators, and ultimately, the system? If the goal is to maintain stratification in society, then nothing needs to be done. If the government is truly interested in creating equity, then they have not done anything about it, or at least anything that has been successful so far.

My final question is one for which I do not have an adequate answer. Have equal opportunity and tolerance, respect, and understanding occurred since the introduction of the 1971 Multiculturalism Act? I believe that improvements have been made, but I suspect that the showing is poorer than could be expected within the space of a little more than thirty years. In relation to this, I also wonder if stratification is a necessary part of society for a functional economy, and if it is, must it be based on ethnic categories. I cannot think what other categories could be used in the place of ethnic ones. My hope is that stratification is not a necessary aspect of society or the economy.

With what does this leave me? There are so many other angles and areas to be researched to find answers for questions where I have none or answers that are more adequate or are better supported than the ones I have given. The following are some of my recommendations in this regard.

Suggestions for Future Research

There are many directions that this research could have gone and can go in the future. The following suggestions are listed in no particular order but are numbered for purposes of clarity.

1. Examining the role of gender along with race and socioeconomic status. Ng (1993) stated that "class cannot be understood without reference to race and gender relations," (p. 57). This is an aspect that I have missed and is important to include at some future time as there is some recent research in this area that would contribute useful information to this topic (McDonagh, 2002; Wasson & Jackson, 2002; Bannerji, Shahrzad, & Whitehead (Eds.) 2001; and Bannerji, 2001).
2. Doing a closer study of the role of school counsellors. What is their exact role within the school? To whom are they accountable? Why are there not any guidelines for them stated in Alberta Education policy guidelines? What specific training to they receive to deal with issues of multiculturalism in the school? What is the role of psychology in the school in general?
3. Studying the answers to the eight issues identified in the first chapter, those dealing with the events surrounding Joseph's experience. Some of these issues have already been examined, such as issues of power in the education system, but many of the issues are still left to be analysed, such as:
    a) immigrations issues and the necessity of people needing to leave their home countries to study;
    b) the struggles of international students in new countries;
    c) the placement of students to assess their grade level;
    d) taunting and name-calling at school;
    e) the relationships between psychological testing and educational practice;
    f) the power and authority relationship; and
    g) methods of intervention when problems arise among students at school.

4. Increase the population sample and try surveys to see if they will produce different or better results than just interviews alone. Along with using a greater number of participants, the ideal combination might be surveys and interviews.
5. Study multiculturalism in the community. What do students do in their home lives? What are they taught at home about multiculturalism? What are their parents' views about it? Knowing what students are bringing with them from their home and community life to school will increase the understanding of what goes on in the schools, at least in the context of student relations, but also perhaps what kinds of students will end up becoming teachers themselves? For instance, from personal experience growing up partly in an East Indian community, many parents from this community either force or strongly encourage their children to study medicine, engineering, or law, and teacher education is not really valued as much. Do factors such as this contribute to there being fewer teachers from marginalised backgrounds?
6. Finally, something within the context of nationalism and national identity may contribute to students' interactions with and negotiations of the society in which they live. As Farnen (1994) asks, what do students know about nationalism and their national identity? Similarly, what are they taught about this subject? What can students be taught about Canadian identity when it has been a highly contested, debated, and generally diffuse, at best, definition? What is the relationship between Canada's national identity and multiculturalism?

The answers to these questions require a holistic approach and a re-examination of a whole system of thought and education in comparison to others. This is why I believe that only a paradigmatic shift can be the only solution since an overhaul of an entire way of operating would likely need to take place. The likelihood of this happening is the unknown variable here, but all it takes is for a few people to believe that the change can happen and then work to make it happen. Paradigm shifts cannot occur in a brief period of time; they require many years. It is my hope that I can be one to help plant a seed or water one already started, and then watch growth begin to take place.

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APPENDIX A

Interview Questions

1. What would you interpret as discrimination? What would you think is not discrimination?
2. Why do you think discrimination happens? Which groups do you think experience more discrimination than others? Why do you think it is directed at these groups?
3. Do you have many students from a variety of ethnic backgrounds in your school or would you say that your school is fairly homogenous?
4. How would you describe your relationship to students in your school from cultural backgrounds different from your own? Would you say that your friends are from a variety of ethnic backgrounds, just a few, or that it is not varied at all?
5. Have you ever experienced discrimination? Was it because of racism or sexism or anything else? If yes, can you describe what occurred?
6. Do you know people who experienced discrimination based on racism, sexism, etc? Do you know the events surrounding that incident or those incidents?
7. Are these things you talk about with your friends (discrimination)?
8. Describe to me if you remember having been taught anything explicitly about multiculturalism at school (e.g. Have you ever had any discussions or lectures in class about other cultures, racism, ethnic discrimination, and if so, what kinds of things were talked about? Did it have anything to do with your relationship to students of different backgrounds? Did it have anything to do with the

relationship between your teacher and students from different ethnic backgrounds?)

9. Has your school or teacher ever had a multicultural celebration of any kind? What kinds of celebrations were these? Have you learned about holidays and observances of other faiths and/or cultures?
10. Do you remember ever having a teacher that tried to incorporate your culture or that of another student in the classroom? If yes, how did the teacher do this?
11. Do you know if any of your teachers ever tried to find out something about your culture by asking either you or your parents about it?
12. Do you feel that your own ethnic background has ever cause a benefit or a hindrance to you in school either by your ability to form relationships with others in the school including your peers, teachers, school counsellor, and principal? Do you think it has ever been advantageous or has caused problems for you in your academic goals? If so, how?
13. To your knowledge, do you feel like you discriminate against any groups or prefer some groups to others?
14. What racialised attitudes do you think you have? Do you think others respond the same way?
15. How do you think counsellors might be discriminatory? Have you ever gone to see the school counsellor or know anyone that has? If yes, was it a helpful visit? If yes, why? If no, why not?
16. Do you think racism and the economy are connected?
17. Do you think science is racist or discriminatory?

18. Were you born in Canada? If no, where were you born and at what age did you come to Canada? If yes, were your parents born in Canada? If no, where were they born?
19. Do you speak any languages other than English? If yes, is it/are any of them first languages?
20. How old are you?
21. Is there any other information that you would like to tell me that I did not ask you about or that you would like to clarify?